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OF THE  
UNITED STATES,  
FROM  
THEIR FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES,  
TO  
THE PERIOD OF THE FIFTH CENSUS,  
IN 1830.  
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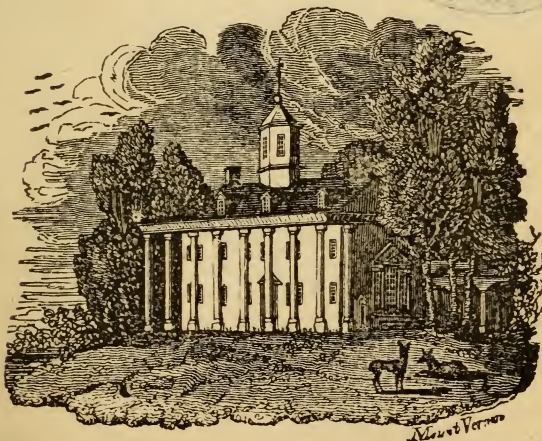
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# HISTORY

OF

## THE UNITED STATES.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Reflections. Improvements in Astronomy, Navigation, and Geography. Voyages of Columbus.*

ALTHOUGH the period of man's residence in this sublunary world is much curtailed, his amount of happiness is increased. Providence has more than compensated for the diminution of his years, by the extension of his knowledge. His mental faculties are no longer engrossed by the mere operations of his body. His mind now ranges with delight over the cultivated field of science. His acquaintance with distant regions is enlarged; he goes abroad to indulge his curiosity, or makes an ideal excursion to amuse his imagination.

The exploring of the deeply hidden nature of the elements, has not been more tardy than our advances in geography. It is true, that the Chaldeans and the Egyptians, at a time even beyond the most ancient records of authentic history, had marked the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, with a degree of industry and success, not less worthy of admiration than difficult of comprehension, when we contemplate their scanty apparatus; and, that during the refined ages, many centuries before the Christian era, the latter, or perhaps the Greeks, had discovered the form, and the dimensions, of this globe, with a geometrical exactness approaching nearly to the truth; yet, their ideas concerning distant countries were extremely defective and perplexed. On this subject, their theories were, in general, absurd, and tended to restrain inquiry; thus, strengthening

the maxim, that conscious ignorance is less injurious than dogmatical error.

About six centuries before Christ, Pythagoras of Samos became acquainted with the learning of Egypt, and diffused his observations throughout Greece and Italy. He taught, that the sun was the centre of the universe, that the earth was round, that people had antipodes, and that the moon reflected the rays of the sun; a system deemed chimerical, until the philosophy and deep inquiries of the sixteenth century proved it to be incontestible and true. Philolaus, who flourished about a century after Pythagoras, proceeded a step further in astronomy. Embracing the same doctrine, he asserted the annual motion of the earth around the sun; and, only a short time had elapsed, when its diurnal revolution on its own axis was promulgated by Hicetas, a Syracusan. Nearly at the same time, Meton and Euctemon made improvements in the science at Athens; and, subsequently, in various parts, Eudoxus and Calippus, Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, Archimedes, and Hipparchus; the last of whom, about one hundred and forty years before our era, ascertained the latitudes and longitudes of more than one thousand of the fixed stars, and enriched astronomy with many other valuable discoveries. In our first century, Ptolemy, an Egyptian, formed a theory which, although erroneous, was followed by all nations for many ages. He composed, in the Greek language, a great work, called the *Almagest*, containing his own and the observations of his most illustrious predecessors. This record, saved from the destruction of the Alexandrine library, when burned by the Saracens in the seventh century, was translated into Arabic in the ninth, and (by the emperor Frederic,) into Latin, in the thirteenth; and thus were the acquirements in astronomy happily preserved, and extensively diffused.

From the latter period, until the discovery of America, the science was cherished by many distinguished philosophers,—Alphonso, king of Castile, Roger Bacon, an English monk, Purbach, and Muller. The latter, a native of Koeningsberg, who died in 1476, invented several instruments useful in navigation; amongst which, was an armillary astrolabe, resembling one formerly used by Hipparchus and Ptolemy, at Alexandria; with which, and a good time-piece, he made many observations.

Enabled by this preliminary sketch, to appreciate more fully the efforts of the different navigators in extending the



sphere of commercial enterprise, we shall review, with additional pleasure, their adventures, from the earliest accounts, to the accomplishment of that great undertaking, which gave, to what is denominated the old world, a knowledge of the new.

To the desire of riches, may chiefly be assigned our enlarged acquaintance with the globe which we inhabit. The ancients were not less eager than the moderns in the pursuit of wealth ; but their progress was unaided by the faithful and constant guide, which now directs the mariner, during the darkness of the night, or the gloomy horrors of the tempest. Though acquainted with the property of the magnet, by which it attracts iron, its more important and amazing quality, of pointing to the poles, had entirely escaped their notice. Their navigation was therefore timid and uncertain. They seldom dared to sail beyond the sight of land ; but crept along the coast, exposed to every danger, and retarded by innumerable obstructions.

The Sidonians and Tyrians were more enterprising than any other people of antiquity. Astronomy, on its decline in Chaldea and Egypt, having passed into Phenicia, those people applied it to navigation ; steering by the north polar star : and, hence, became masters of the sea, and almost of the whole commerce of the world. Their ships frequented not only all the ports in the Mediterranean, but were the first that ventured beyond the strait of Gades, now called Gibraltar, or that visited the western coasts of Africa and Spain. At the same time, having obtained several commodious harbours towards the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, they established, after the manner of the Egyptians, a regular intercourse with Arabia and the continent of India, on the one hand, and with the coast of Africa, on the other ; from which countries, they imported many valuable commodities, and, for a long while, engrossed that lucrative trade without a rival. They landed their cargoes at Elath, the safest harbour in the Red Sea, towards the north. Thence, they carried them, by land, to Rhinocolura on the Mediterranean, re-shipped them, and transported them to Tyre ; and the vast wealth which the Phenicians had acquired by this monopoly, incited the Jews, under David and Solomon, to pursue a similar trade. Carthage, a colony of Tyre, applied to naval affairs, with unremitting ardour, ingenuity, and success. It early rivalled and surpassed the parent state in opulence and power. Without contending with the mother country, for the trade of the

east, the Carthaginians directed their attention towards the west and north; and, following the course already opened, passed the strait of Gades, visited not only all the coasts of Spain and Gaul, but reached the more distant shores of Britain. Stimulated by the extent of these discoveries, they carried their researches to the south. Stretching along the western coast of Africa, they sailed almost to the tropic of Cancer; planted several colonies, in order to civilize the natives and accustom them to commerce, and discovered the Fortunato Islands, now known by the name of the Canaries; the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in the western ocean.

Curiosity, as well as commercial avidity, induced them to continue their researches. To those motives, were owing the famous voyages of Hanno and Himilco. Their fleets were equipped by authority of the senate, and at the public expense. Proceeding towards the south, Hanno advanced much nearer to the equinoctial line, than any former navigator; and Himilco explored the western coasts of Europe. Of the same nature, was the extraordinary voyage of the Phenicians around Africa. A Phenician fleet, prepared by Necho, king of Egypt, sailed, we are told, about six hundred years before the Christian era, from a port in the Red Sea, passed the southern promontory of Africa, (now called the Cape of Good Hope,) and, after a voyage of three years, arrived by the strait of Gades, at the Nile. Unfortunately, the particulars of those navigations were not communicated to the rest of mankind. All authentic memorials respecting the great naval skill of the Phenicians and Carthaginians, seem, in a great measure, to have perished, when the maritime power of the former was annihilated by Alexander, and the empire of the latter was overturned by the Roman arms.

The states of Greece pursued scarcely any commerce beyond the confines of the Mediterranean. Their ignorance of geography is almost incredible to us. But their knowledge was much enlarged by Alexander's expedition to the east. Nor were the Romans less remarkable for their inattention to that science. In the history of the Roman empire, hardly one event occurs, evincing a regard to geographical inquiry or navigation, further than it was connected with the desire of conquest. Indeed, there prevailed, amongst the ancients, an opinion, which conveys a striking idea of the small progress made by them in the

knowledge of the habitable globe. They supposed, that the earth was divided into five regions; which they distinguished by the name of zones. Two of these, one at the north, the other at the south pole, they termed frigid; believing, that the extreme cold which reigned perpetually in both, was destructive to animal life. Another, which was seated under the line, and extended on each side towards the tropics, they called the torrid zone; imagining it to be so burned up with unremitting heat, as to be equally destitute of inhabitants. To the other two regions, they gave the appellation of temperate; and taught that these, being the only situations in which life could possibly subsist, were assigned to man for his habitation. Wild, as seems this opinion at the present day, it was adopted, as a system, by the most enlightened philosophers, and the most accurate historians, of Greece and Rome. Promulgated by so respectable authority, that extravagant theory served to render their ignorance perpetual; as it represented all attempts to open a communication with distant regions of the earth, impracticable and hopeless. Even the small degree of accurate geographical knowledge, which they had occasionally obtained, was almost entirely lost, on the fall of the Roman empire. The various nations of the north, who, in the fifth century, settled in the different provinces, were unacquainted with regular government or laws; strangers to letters, destitute of arts, ignorant of their use, unambitious of their acquirement. No intercourse existed even amongst themselves. Constantinople, however, was so fortunate as to escape their destructive rage. There, the ancient arts and discoveries were preserved, and commerce continued to flourish, when almost extinct in every other part of Europe.

At length, the rude tribes in Italy having acquired some idea of regular government, and some relish for the modes of civil life, Europe gradually recovered from its degradation. The Italian merchants, notwithstanding the violent antipathy, which, as Christians, they possessed against the followers of Mahomet, repaired to Alexandria, and established with that port a lucrative trade. The commercial spirit of Italy became active and enterprising. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rose from inconsiderable towns, to be wealthy and populous. Their naval power increased; they visited the sea-ports of Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England; and infused a taste for the alluring productions of the East.



The crusades served greatly to hasten the mercantile progress of the Italians. The martial inclination of the Europeans, impelled by religious zeal, and inflamed by superstition, having prompted them to attempt the deliverance of the Holy Land from the dominion of the Infidels, vast armies, composed of all the nations in Europe, marched upon this wild enterprise towards Asia. The Italian sea-ports furnished the necessary shipping and military stores; for which, immense sums were received. Venice, in particular, advanced in commerce, power, and riches. Nor did their employers make those expensive and disastrous voyages without future benefit. They became familiar with distant regions, which, before, they knew only by name, or by the reports of credulous pilgrims; and ascertained the arts, manners, and productions, of nations more polished than themselves.

That intercourse subsisted for nearly two hundred years; during which period, many religious missionaries penetrated the East, far beyond the countries entered by the crusaders. After these, followed several illustrious travellers, incited either by the hope of riches, or a pure spirit of inquiry. Of the former passion, the most distinguished votary was Marco Polo, a nobleman of Venice: of the latter, sir John Mandeville, of England; who returned, after an absence of more than thirty years, and published an account of his observations.

Whilst this inclination towards research was gradually increasing, a discovery was made, the wonderful property of the magnet, which communicates to iron a tendency of pointing to the north, that had greater influence on navigation, than all the efforts of preceding ages. The precise epoch of this discovery cannot be ascertained. It is generally attributed to Gioia, a Neapolitan, and dated in the year 1302: but the supposition appears erroneous. The earliest notice with which we are acquainted, is by a French writer, Guyot de Provins; who, in a poem written about the year 1180, plainly alludes to the magnetic needle being then in common use. The *Historia Orientalis*, of Vitriacus, who had made many voyages by sea, and published that work about forty years subsequent to the former; the writings of Vicentius, at the same period, and many other authorities; coincide in establishing its previous introduction, and, consequently, in depriving the Neapolitan of any honour, further than for having increased its utility, by fixing it on a



pivot, and enclosing it in a box.\* Seamen were now enabled to abandon their timid course along the shore, and fearlessly to launch into the wide bosom of the ocean. The first appearance of increasing confidence, may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary islands. These, which, we have already mentioned, had been visited by the Carthaginians, were again discovered by that people : but the genius of naval enterprise was not at this period fully roused ; as navigation seems not to have advanced, then, beyond the limits which circumscribed it before the downfall of the Roman empire.

The era at length arrived, when man was allowed to pass the boundary within which he had been so long confined. The next considerable effort was made by the seamen of Portugal. In 1420, they sailed to Madeira ; (to which, they were directed by its accidental discovery by an Englishman ;) about forty years from that date, they discovered the Cape de Verd islands ; and soon afterwards, the Azores, situated in the Atlantic, nine hundred miles from any continent. When prosecuting their researches along the shores

1471 of Africa, they ventured to cross the equinoctial line; equally pleased and astonished, on finding that region not only habitable, but populous and fertile. This occurred in the reign of Alphonso. His son, John the second, possessed talents, capable both of forming great designs and carrying them into execution. Patronised and aided by this indefatigable monarch, the examination and colonizing of the African continent became ardent and unremitting. As they advanced towards the south, the Portuguese found, that, instead of extending, according to the doctrine of Ptolemy, it appeared to contract, its breadth, towards the east. This unexpected discovery was not unprofitably made. It induced them to credit the ancient Phenician voyages around Africa, which had long been deemed fabulous ; and led them to conceive hopes, that, by following the same track, they might arrive at the East Indies, and engross, for a while, a traffic, which had

\* “Valde necessarius est *acus* navigantibus mari,” says Vitriacus :—the *needle* is very necessary to seamen. “Cum enim,” observes Vicentius, “vias suas ad portum dirigere nesciunt, cacumen *acus* ad adamantem lapidem fricatum, per transversum in festuca parva infigunt, et vasi pleno aquæ immittunt :”—For, when they (the navigators,) know not how to find their way into a harbour, they fix the point of a *needle*, rubbed upon a hard stone, crosswise in a piece of wood, and place it in a small vessel full of water.

always been so eagerly desired. The attainment of this object was entrusted to Bartholomew Diaz ; an experienced officer, distinguished alike for his sagacity, fortitude, and perseverance. After advancing a thousand miles farther than any of his predecessors, exposed to violent tempests, mutinies, and famine, he at last beheld that lofty  
1487 promontory which terminates Africa on the south. But, to behold it, was all that he could accomplish. The violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and turbulent spirit of his men, compelled him to return.

Diaz had called that promontory the Stormy Cape ; but the king, now entertaining a sanguine expectation of having found the long desired route to India, gave it a more appropriate name, The Cape of Good Hope.

The vast length of this voyage, with the furious storms which Diaz had encountered, so alarmed and intimidated the Portuguese, that some time was requisite to prepare their minds for the prosecution of their great design. In the interval, an event occurred, no less extraordinary than unexpected, unparalleled in the annals of naval enterprise—the discovery of a new continent, situated in the west.

The honour of accomplishing an exploit so sublime, was gained by Christopher Columbus. This great man, a native of Genoa, descended from a respectable family, was well qualified, by nature and education, to become distinguished on the ocean. Ardently inclined towards that element, he went to sea at the age of fourteen ; and, in a few years, visited the coast of Iceland, (then frequented by the English on account of its fishery,) and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. After a variety of adventures, serving more to enlarge his knowledge than to increase his fortune, he went to Lisbon ; a city in which there lived many of his countrymen, and where, having married a Portuguese lady, he fixed his residence. This alliance did not lessen his early attachment to the sea. It fortunately contributed to enlarge his naval information, and excite a desire of still further extending it. His wife was a daughter of Perestrello ; one of the captains employed by the Portuguese in their former navigations, and who had first carried them to Madeira. Columbus obtained possession of his journals ; the study of which inflamed his favourite passion, and rendered irresistible his impatience to visit the several countries which Perestrello had described. He accordingly made a voyage to Madeira ; and continued, during many years, to trade with the Canaries, the Azores,

the coast of Guinea, and all the other places discovered by the Portuguese on the continent of Africa.

At that period, the great object of the Portuguese, as already narrated, was to find a passage to the East Indies. But they searched for it only by steering towards the south; in hopes of accomplishing their wishes by turning to the east, when they had reached the southern extremity of Africa; a course of so great extent, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared to them equally arduous and uncertain. Stimulated by this reflection, the active mind of Columbus, after attentively comparing the observations of modern pilots with the conjectures of the ancients, at last concluded, that, by sailing directly to the west, across the Atlantic Ocean, new countries, which it was likely formed a part of the great continent of Asia, must infallibly be discovered. The spherical figure of the earth was known; its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy: and sir John Mandeville had already, from astronomical demonstration, asserted, that it might be circumnavigated. It was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It seemed rational, that the vast, unexplored space, was not entirely covered by water, but was occupied in some measure, by countries fit for the residence of man. These deductions did not rest merely on conjecture. Although the offspring of scientific theory, they were supported by recent observations. Timber, artificially carved, driven by a westerly wind, was seen floating at an unusual distance in the ocean: to the west of the Madeira isles, there had been found another piece, fashioned in the same manner, brought by the same wind; and canes, of enormous size, resembling those described by Ptolemy, as peculiar to the Indies. Trees were frequently driven upon the Azores; and, at one time, the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, not corresponding with the inhabitants of Europe, Africa, or Asia.

Fully satisfied with the truth of his system. Columbus was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment. The first step towards this, was to secure the patronage of some considerable power. As long absence had not lessened his affection for his native country, he wished that Genoa should reap the fruits of his ingenuity and labour; and, accordingly, laid his scheme before the senate. But he had resided so long abroad, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his character; and, not being able to form any just idea of



the principles upon which he founded his hopes of success, they rejected his proposals, as the dream of a chimerical projector.

Columbus had now performed a natural duty; a conduct, which, though it does not form the grandest, is certainly one of the most amiable, features in his history; and must be admired, whilst there is a mind clear enough to discern, or a heart sufficiently warm to conceive, an act of generosity.

He was not discouraged by this repulse. Instead of relinquishing his undertaking, he pursued it with increasing ardour. He made his next overture to the king of Portugal; in whose dominions, he had long resided; and whom he considered, on that account, as having the second claim to his services. John listened to his proposals, and appointed three eminent cosmographers to examine the merits of his plan. But these men, after drawing from Columbus all the information that treachery could devise, or their capacities understand, basely conspired to rob the ingenious seaman of his expected glory; and the king adopted their perfidious counsel. The pilot, however, chosen to execute the fraud, was no less deficient in courage, than were his employers in dignity and justice. He returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as extravagant and dangerous.

Disgusted by this transaction, Columbus resolved to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of so flagrant treachery. He instantly went to Spain, that he might lay his plan before Ferdinand and Isabella. But, he wisely increased the chances of success, by sending his brother Bartholomew into England, to negotiate with Henry the seventh; who was reported to be one of the most sagacious and opulent princes of the age.

Though Spain was then engaged in a serious contest with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country, yet, Ferdinand and his queen paid so much regard to Columbus, as to submit the consideration of his plan to a confidential minister. To enumerate all the objections offered to his scheme, or describe, in appropriate language, the firmness with which the philosophic stranger combated his successive disappointments, would neither be conformable with our design, nor within the compass of our ability. Some asserted, that he would find the ocean of infinite extent; others, that, if he persisted in steering to the west, beyond a certain point, the convex figure of the earth would prevent his return; and, that it was absurd to attempt open-



ing a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined.

But the total expulsion of the Moors produced a happy change in the disposition of the Spanish court, and excited, still farther, the vigilant and generous patrons of Columbus,—Quintanella, and Santangel; who took advantage of this prosperous situation of affairs, to press, once more, the solicitations of their friend. Their effort was successful. Though Ferdinand was still restrained by his characteristic caution and reserve, Isabella, alive to the glory which must accrue from the accomplishment of so grand an enterprise; and, if historians be correct, anxious to spread the knowledge of the Christian religion; declared her resolution of employing Columbus; and, regretting the low state of her finances, offered to pledge her jewels, in order to complete the preparations for the voyage. A measure so humiliating to a feeling mind, was, however, fortunately prevented. Transported with gratitude and admiration, Santangel kissed Isabella's hand, and engaged to advance, immediately, the necessary sum.

1492 On the 17th of April, more than seven years from the date of his first application, an agreement with Columbus was concluded. The ships, of which he was to have the command, were fitted out at Palos; a small town in the province of Andalusia. But the armament was not suitable, either to the rank of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the important service for which it was intended. It consisted only of three vessels. The largest, of inconsiderable burthen, called the Santa Maria, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral; the second, named the Pinta, not superior in size to a large boat, by Martin Pinzon; and the third, of similar dimensions, called the Nigna, by Vincent Pinzon, a brother of the latter. The whole were victualled for twelve months, and provided with ninety men.

On the 3d of August, Columbus set sail. He steered directly for the Canary islands; and, having refitted his crazy vessels, departed from Gomera, on the 6th day of September. Holding his course due west, he left the usual track of navigation, and stretched boldly into seas unfrequented and unknown. His sailors, alarmed at the distance which they had proceeded without finding the expected land, began to mutiny, threatened to throw him overboard, and placed him in a situation, in which any other man would have yielded to their entreaties to return. But

he still maintained his accustomed serenity and resolution. Fertile in expedients, possessing a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, and the talent of governing the minds of others, he promised solemnly to his men, that, provided they would obey his commands for three days longer, and that, in the meantime, land were not discovered, he would comply with their request.

Columbus did not hazard much, by confining himself to a period so short. For some days before, the sounding line had reached the bottom, and brought up soil which indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and contained many of a description supposed not to fly far from shore. A cane was observed, that seemed to have been recently cut; and a branch of a tree, with fresh berries. The clouds around the sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild, and, during the night, the wind became unequal and variable. Each succeeding hour confirmed Columbus in his opinion of being near land. On the evening of the 11th of October, he ordered the sails to be furled, the ships to lie to, and a strict watch to be kept, to guard against the danger of running ashore in the night; an interval of suspense and expectation, during which all remained on deck, intently gazing towards that quarter where they hoped to discover the interesting object of their wishes.

The period at length arrived. Columbus observed a light, which seemed to be carried from place to place; and, a little after midnight, there was heard from the *Pinta* the joyful cry of **LAND!**

When morning dawned, an island was seen, about two leagues to the north, presenting the aspect of a delightful country. All the boats were immediately manned and armed. The Spaniards rowed towards the shore, with their colours displayed, with martial music, and all the dazzling insignia of military pomp. As they approached the beach, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and amazement. Columbus was the first who set foot on this new world which he had discovered. His men followed; and all kneeling, kissed the ground which they had long desired, but expected never to behold: he then erected a crucifix, returned thanks to God, and, with the usual formalities, took possession of the country.

To this island, called by the natives *Guanahani*, Columbus gave the name of *St Salvador*. It is one of that

large cluster, called the Lucaya or Bahama isles; situated above three thousand miles to the west, but only four degrees to the south, of Gomera; so little had he deviated from his intended course.

After discovering several other islands, amongst which were Cuba and Hayti, (the latter named by Columbus, Hispaniola,) the shattered condition of his vessels, and the general eagerness of his seamen to return to their native country, constrained him to make preparations for his departure. He did not, however, neglect using every precaution to secure the benefit of a first discovery. With the consent of the cazique or sovereign of the district, he erected a fort in Hispaniola: in which, he left a party of his men; and, on the 4th of January, sailed for Europe; where he arrived, after experiencing dangers and  
1493 fatigues which required all his skill and fortitude to surmount.

Various conjectures were formed respecting these newly discovered countries. Columbus adhered to his original opinion, that they were part of those vast regions of Asia, comprehended under the general name of India. From their productions, this idea seemed correct. Gold was known to abound in India; a metal of which he had obtained samples so promising, as led him to believe that rich mines of it would be found. Cotton, another production of the Indies, was common there. The pimento of the islands he imagined was a species of the India pepper. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the brilliant plumage which distinguishes those of India: the alligator of the one, seemed to be the crocodile of the other. That opinion of Columbus, the Spaniards and the other nations of Europe have adopted. The name of Indies was given to those islands by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of the former agreement with the illustrious discoverer; and, even after the error which gave rise to that opinion was detected, the name of West Indies has remained, and the aborigines are called Indians.

1498 In his third voyage, Columbus reached the continent, and landed in several places on the coast of those provinces now known by the name of Paria and Cumana. But he was deprived of the honour of associating his name with this vast portion of the earth. Amongst the officers, who, in the following year, accompanied Ojeda, to explore still farther these new regions, was Amerigo Vespucci, a gentleman of Florence; who, as he was an experi-



enced seaman, acquired so great authority amongst his companions, that they willingly yielded to him the superintendence of the voyage. The crafty Florentine made an extraordinary use of his situation. Soon after his return to Spain, he transmitted an account of his adventures to one of his own countrymen; so ingeniously framed, as to make it appear that he had the glory of first discovering the continent of the new world. His narrative was drawn not only with art, but with elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations on the natural productions, the inhabitants, and customs, of the places which he had visited. His description was the first given to the public. It circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country, of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, gradually received his name, or a modification of it; an error, which the injustice of mankind has continued.

In the summary view, which, previous to our entering on the voyages of Columbus, was given, of the gradual progress of discovery in the eastern hemisphere, we last alluded to the advance of Diaz within sight of the great southern cape of Africa. Rather stimulated than depressed by the amazing issue of the patronage which they had denied Columbus, the Portuguese attentively pursued their favourite object. Their endeavours were successful. On the 20th of November, in the year 1497, Vasco de Gama, employed by the king of Portugal, "doubled" that celebrated promontory, and, in the month of May following, arrived at Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.

Twenty-three years after that great event, Magellan, a native of Portugal, in the service of Spain, penetrated into the Pacific ocean, by the strait which bears his name, situated at the southern extremity of the American continent; thus, opening a new route to the East Indies, and developing a vast region of water, interspersed with beautiful and fertile islands.

It seems owing to accident, that England had not gained the renown which accrued to Spain, the fortunate employer of the persevering Genoese. In his voyage thither, Bartholomew Columbus was captured by pirates; who, having entirely robbed him, detained him a prisoner for many years. When, at length, he arrived in London, his indigence was so great, that he was obliged to employ himself, during a considerable time, in drawing and selling maps, as a means of raising money sufficient to purchase a

decent dress, in which to appear at court. He was there treated with merited respect. Notwithstanding the excessive caution of Henry the seventh, he received the overtures of Columbus with more attention than any monarch to whom they had been before presented, and invited him to England. But it was then too late. The achievement was already accomplished. Bartholomew, in his return, was informed, at Paris, of the issue of his brother's voyage; an event not less exhilarating than unexpected.

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## CHAPTER II.

*Newfoundland discovered by Cabot. Abortive attempts to settle Roanoke, by Sir Walter Raleigh.*

THE English were the second people that ventured to the new world, and the first that discovered the continent of America. Two years had not elapsed, after the consummation of the great navigator's hopes, when Giovanni Caboto, (or Cabot,) a Venetian who had settled in Bristol, and his three sons, were commissioned, by Henry the seventh, to sail in quest of unknown countries, and endeavour to reach India by a western course; agreeably to the system of Columbus, which the former had adopted. Accordingly, the father and his second son, Sebastian, were despatched from that city, the place of the latter's nativity, on board a ship furnished by the king, accompanied by four small barks provided by the merchants. Sebastian, for it was he who had the direction of the voyage, conjectured, that by steering farther to the north, he might reach India, by a shorter course than that chosen by Columbus. On the 24th of June, 1497, he discovered a large island, to which he gave the name of Prima Vista, or first seen; now called Newfoundland. He then changed his course; steering to the north: but, finding that the land continued to oppose him in that direction, and that there was no appearance of a passage, he tacked about, and ran as far as Florida; the island of Cuba, as he relates, being on his left. Here, his provisions failing, he resolved to return to England; having on board three natives, who accompanied him from Newfoundland.

The commercial progress of the English did not relax, during the succeeding reigns of Henry the eighth and Ed-



ward the sixth. In the former reign, many adventures were made, along the southern portion of America; in the latter, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland became an eager object of attention. But, after the accession of Mary, their enterprises were directed towards another quarter. That she might allay the jealousy of the Spanish monarch, to whom she was espoused, the queen devoted all her patronage to an intercourse opened in the preceding reign with Russia.

On the accession of Elizabeth, a period commenced, highly auspicious to mercantile extension. The domestic tranquillity; the peace with foreign nations, which subsisted more than twenty years after she was seated on the throne; her economy; all, were favourable to that rising spirit. The opening of a direct intercourse with India, by sea, was again attempted: but a route was marked out, different from any that was before pursued. As every attempt to accomplish this by the west, and the north-east, had proved abortive, a scheme was formed, to hold an opposite course, by the north-west; the conduct of which was entrusted to Martin Frobisher. In three successive voyages, that en-

1576-'7-'8 terprising officer examined the coast of Labrador; but without discovering any rational appearance of a passage. The disappointment, however, was in some measure compensated by sir Francis Drake; who accomplished, about this time, his celebrated voyage round the globe; an exploit, which, in conjunction with their other marine achievements, impressed the English with a just confidence in their own abilities and courage. They had displayed their flag in every region to which navigation then extended; and were not excelled in naval exploits by any nation of the age.

A more interesting period of our history now approaches. The British at length began to form plans of settling colonies in those countries, which, hitherto, they had only visited. The projectors and patrons of these were chiefly men of rank and influence. Amongst the number, sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Devonshire, an officer distinguished for his military talents, and his attention to naval science, obtained a patent from the queen, investing him with the necessary powers. But, two expeditions, both of which he conducted in person, were unfortunate. The last voyage

1580 was awfully disastrous: when returning to England, without having performed any thing more important than the empty ceremony of taking possession of Newfound-

land, the frigate in which he sailed was lost at sea, and all on board found a watery grave.

But that misfortune did not discourage his relative, sir Walter Raleigh. Adopting all the ideas of his brother-in-law, he applied to the queen, in whose favour he stood high, at that time, and procured a patent, with similar jurisdiction and prerogatives. Raleigh despatched two small vessels, under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow. They sailed on the 27th of April, and reached the coast now called North Carolina on the 4th of July; making their passage in sixty-seven days: which was by no means long, when we consider their course, by the Canary and West India islands, and their having spent many days, at those places, in trading and recruiting their provisions. They touched first at an island, which they call Wocokon, (probably Ocacoke;) then, at Roanoke, near the entrance of Albemarle Sound; and, after spending a few weeks in trafficking with the natives, and visiting the adjacent continent, returned to England. Amadas and Barlow gave so splendid a description of the country; its beauty, fertility, mildness of climate, and serenity of atmosphere; that Elizabeth gave it the name of Virginia, as a memorial that this happy discovery was made under a maiden queen.

The great profusion of grapes attracted their particular notice. So plentiful were they along the shore, that the surge of the sea overflowed them; and, in all places, they observed so many, on the sand in the plains, and on the verdant ground upon the hills; on every little shrub, and climbing towards the tops of the lofty cedars; that, in the whole world, they declare, a similar abundance had not been found. When they discharged their arms, so large a flock of cranes arose around them, and with so loud a cry, redoubled by many echoes, that the noise equalled the combined shouting of an army. They had remained at the island two days, before they saw any of the natives. On the third day, they beheld a small boat rowing towards them, containing three men; one of whom was taken on board, and presented with some clothes, meat, and wine; with which, he was highly pleased. The pleasure he received was not unrecompensed. He returned to his little boat, and, after fishing for about half an hour, and lading it as deeply as it would allow, he came to a point of the land; then, dividing his fish into two parts, assigned one as the portion of the ship, the other as the share of the pinnace; and, having thus

repaid his debt, he departed. The following day, there appeared several other boats. In one of these, was Grangameo, brother of the king Wingina; accompanied by forty or fifty men; "very handsome and goodly people, and, in their behaviour," it is said, "as mannerly and civil as any in Europe." In the present age, this comparison may seem, at the first view, extravagant and unjust: but, if we consider the state of civilized society more than two centuries ago, and reflect, that whilst these have been constantly advancing, the other, from nearly the same cause, have been declining, in their acquirement of what is supposed to be the standard of refinement, we shall no longer doubt its general correctness.

1585 Encouraged by this pleasing report, Raleigh fitted out a squadron of seven small vessels, with one hundred and eighty adventurers: which sailed from Plymouth, under the command of sir Richard Greenville. This colony, he left on the island of Roanoke, under the care of captain Lane, assisted by some men of eminence; amongst whom, was Hariot, a distinguished mathematician. The latter individuals faithfully discharged their duty, in obtaining a more ample knowledge of the country; having carried their researches farther than could have been expected, with so inconsiderable aid, and from a situation so disadvantageous. But the same praise is not due to Lane, and the majority of his subordinate companions. They seemed to think nothing worthy their attention, except gold and silver. Amused by the Indians, with extraordinary tales, concerning pearl fisheries and rich mines of those precious metals, they neglected the cultivation of the soil; and, being disappointed in attaining treasures, which were only the invention of a people, now as anxious to destroy, as they were before to assist, these dangerous intruders, they were assailed by a two-fold calamity, hostility and famine. Reduced to extreme distress, they were preparing to disperse in quest of food, when sir Francis Drake, returning from the West Indies, appeared with his fleet, and offered them assistance: but his generous intention was frustrated by a storm. A small vessel, with provisions destined for their service, was dashed to pieces; and, as he could not supply them, a second time, with adequate relief, at their unanimous request, he carried them home to England. Thus ended, that ill-conducted experiment, after a trial of nine months.

Only a few days had expired, when a small bark, with some



stores, despatched by Raleigh, arrived at the place where those men had been settled; but, on finding it deserted, she returned: and scarcely was that vessel gone, before Greenville appeared with farther aid. He searched for the colony; but, receiving no information of its fate, he left fifteen of his crew, to retain possession of the island, and departed.

Early in the following year, the proprietors despatched three vessels, under the command of captain White, with one hundred and fifty men. In the month of July, they arrived at Roanoke, and endeavoured to find the small party left there by sir Richard Greenville; but, of their fate, they collected no satisfactory account. It is most probable, that their misconduct had caused their dispersion; perhaps their death: the bones of one person were seen; the fort which Lane had erected was demolished; but their dwellings remained unhurt. Both were overgrown with melons. Some deer had entered within the deserted walls, and were feeding on the fruit which perhaps their late inhabitants had planted, a melancholy scene.

In about a month after the arrival of captain White, his daughter, the wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, had a female child, in Roanoke; which, being the first born in the colony, was named Virginia.

But misfortune pursued even this settlement. Insubordination, anarchy, distress, were every day increasing. At the desire, therefore, of the inhabitants, the governor returned to England, for supplies; and, at his request, a fleet, under the command of Greenville, was prepared at Biddiford: but, on account of the Spanish Armada, which then threatened the parent country with subjection, this officer, whose talents were now required in a more important service, was ordered not to sail. White, however, obtained two small pinnaces, the *Brave* and the *Roe*; the former of thirty, the latter of only twenty-five tons, burthen; with which, he departed for America. The object of the voyage was, however, soon neglected; the distressed situation of the colony, forgotten. Piracy engrossed the whole attention of the seamen. Having plundered every vessel they could overtake, British, Scotch, or foreign; chased and beaten off an armed vessel of two hundred tons, with a degree of courage worthy of a better cause, one of the pinnaces was attacked by two large French privateers: when, after a desperate battle, in which many men on both sides were killed, she and her consort were themselves plundered,



and forced to return to England! "Thus," says the narrator of these adventures, "God justly punished the former thievery of our evil-disposed mariners."

This atrocious desertion of their duty proved fatal to the colony. Receiving no supply, its inhabitants perished miserably by famine, or by the hands of their surrounding enemies.

### CHAPTER III.

*Exertions of Richard Hakluyt. Establishment at James Town, in Virginia. Life and adventures of captain Smith. Marriage of captain Rolfe with Pocahuntas. Productions of Virginia; agriculture, mode of living, religion, and appearance, of the Indians.*

DURING the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, no farther efforts were made to establish a colony in Virginia. Allured by new objects, and always giving a preference to the most arduous and splendid, Raleigh engaged in undertakings, much beyond his power of accomplishing; and, becoming cold to this unprofitable scheme, assigned his interest in that country, which he had never visited, to sir  
 1596 Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London. But they were satisfied by a petty traffic with the natives, and made no attempt to take possession of the soil.

A few years previous to this, Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, in order to stimulate his countrymen to naval enterprise, published a valuable collection of voyages and discoveries made by Englishmen, and translated some of the best accounts of the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese to the East and West Indies. The motives of this publication are singular and interesting. They display an affectionate regard for the honour and welfare of his native land. By a long continued attention to the duties of lecturing on geography, and an ardent curiosity in all matters relating to distant countries, Hakluyt had grown familiar with the principal sea-captains, and most eminent merchants of the age; by which means, his knowledge became extensive and correct. Appointed to accompany the

queen's ambassador to the court of Paris, during the five years he remained in that service, his patriotic feelings were daily wounded by the reproaches thrown out, in conversation and in books, against the sluggish indifference of his countrymen, and by the extravagant praises lavished on other nations, for their discoveries and naval enterprise; a neglect the more remarkable, on the part of England, in so long and happy a time of peace. On his return, he immediately commenced his voluminous and laborious undertaking. In the preface of this work, which is dedicated to sir Francis Walsingham, he strongly evinces the ardency of his feelings, and presents an interesting summary of the foreign relations of his country. "Which of the kings of England, before her majesty," he demands, "displayed their banners in the Caspian Sea? Which of them have ever traded with the emperor of Persia, and obtained for her merchants numerous and important privileges? Who, at any time before, beheld an English regiment in the stately porch of the Grand Signior at Constantinople? Who ever found English consuls and commercial agents at Tripolis in Syria; at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara: and, still more, who, before this period, ever heard of Englishmen at Goa: what English ships did heretofore anchor in the great river Plate, pass and repass the strait of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the western side of New Spain, farther indeed, than the vessels of any other nation had ever ventured; traverse the immense surface of the South Sea, land upon the Luzones, in despite of the enemy; enter into alliance, amity and traffic, with the princes of the Moluccas and the isle of Java; double the famous Cape of Good Hope, arrive at the isle of St. Helena, and, last of all, return home richly laden with the commodities of China?"

By the zealous endeavours of a person respected equally by traders and men of rank, numbers of both orders formed an association, again to establish colonies in America; and petitioned James the first, to sanction the execution of their plans. The period was highly favourable to their wishes. James was scarcely seated on the throne, when he concluded, by an amicable treaty, the tedious war which had been carried on with Spain; and now readily granted their request. He divided, into two districts, of nearly equal extent, that portion of North America which stretches from the 34th to the 45th degree, of latitude, excepting the territory of any other Christian prince or people, already occupied; one, called the First, or South Colony, the other, the

Second, or North Colony, of Virginia. He authorized sir  
 1606 Thomas Gates, sir George Summers, Richard Hak-  
 luyt, and others, mostly resident in London, to settle  
 in a limited district of the South. An equal extent of the  
 North, he allotted to several gentlemen and merchants of  
 Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England.  
 As the object of association was new, so the plan of con-  
 ducting their affairs was uncommon. The supreme gov-  
 ernment of the colonies was vested in a council resident in  
 England, to be nominated by the king; the subordinate ju-  
 risdiction, in a council, which was to reside in America, and  
 also to be named by the crown, and act conformably with  
 its instructions. Several clauses, however, evinced con-  
 siderable liberality. Whatever was required for their sus-  
 tenance, or for the support of commerce, he permitted to  
 be shipped from England free of duty, during the space of  
 seven years: and, as a further incitement to industry, grant-  
 ed them the liberty of trading with other nations; appropri-  
 ating the duties to be laid on foreign traffic for twenty-one  
 years, as a fund for their exclusive benefit.

Though many persons of distinction became proprietors  
 in the company which undertook to plant the first colony  
 in Virginia, its stock was inconsiderable, and its efforts ex-  
 tremely feeble. In those days, the arts were not understood,  
 by which vast undertakings can be accomplished, as much  
 by the credit, as by the capital, of a corporation. A vessel  
 of only a hundred tons, and two barks, under the command  
 of captain Newport, sailed with one hundred and five men,  
 destined to remain in the country. Some of these were of  
 respectable families; particularly Mr. Percy, a brother of  
 the Earl of Northumberland, and several officers who had  
 served with reputation in the preceding reign. In follow-  
 ing the ancient course by the West Indies, Newport made  
 a tedious passage. But, though his passage was retarded,  
 his arrival was propitious. The first land that he discovered  
 was a promontory, the southern boundary of the Chesa-  
 peake; which he named Cape Henry, in honour of  
 April, the prince of Wales. He immediately entered that  
 1607 spacious inlet; and, keeping along the southern  
 shore, sailed about sixty miles up a river, called by the na-  
 tives Powhatan; but to which he gave the name of James  
 River, through respect to his sovereign. Here, the colony  
 determined to reside. Having, therefore, chosen a proper  
 site for their infant settlement, they conferred on it the  
 name of Jamestown; which it still retains: and, though



It never advanced either to opulence or importance, it is on one account remarkable: it can boast of being the most ancient habitation of the English on the American continent.

In its earliest infancy, this feeble society were involved in war. Imprudent in their conduct towards the natives, the suspicion, already excited in the minds of these independent people, always watchful against invasion, was now heightened into resentment, at this open violation of their rights. To war, was added a calamity more dreadful, that bravery would oppose in vain. A scarcity of provisions, approaching to a famine, introduced diseases; which, aided by the effects of a sultry climate upon their exhausted frames, in a few months swept away half their number, and left the remainder sickly and dejected. "In such trying extremities," says an admired historian, "the comparative powers of every individual are discovered and called forth; and each, naturally, takes that station, and assumes that ascendancy, to which he is entitled by his talents and force of mind." Every eye was now turned towards captain Smith, who had been appointed in England one of the council; and all willingly devolved on him the government; an authority much greater than that of which, on their arrival, they had unjustly deprived him.

A character so distinguished in the annals of Virginia; so marked, by nature, with those bold traits of spirit and of genius; arrests the historian's pen, and claims a more than ordinary notice; a degree of attention, in some measure proportioned to the transactions with which he is associated. Captain John Smith, the father of Virginia, was born of an ancient family, in 1579, at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, and educated in the schools of Alford and Louth. His parents, who died when he was only in his thirteenth year, left him a small estate; which, however, through his own want of economy, and the inattention of his guardians, became soon inadequate to his support. He then accompanied a son of the famous lord Willoughby to France; and, after remaining there a short time, returned to his relations; who gave him a few shillings, out of his own estate, as an acquittance from any further demands. He next served for some years in the Low Countries, against the Spaniards. Thence, passing over into Scotland, he remained there a short time amongst his friends: but, weary of the successive intemperance of company, in which he had never felt delight, he retired, with a faithful servant, into the midst of



an extensive forest, and, on the margin of a little brook, entwined an arbour of boughs; in which he lay, with no other bed than leaves, no covering except his ordinary dress. His study consisted in Machiavel's art of war, and Marcus Aurelius; his exercise, a good horse, with his "lance and ring;" his food, the deer, the rambling inhabitant of the woods. Satiated, at length, by retirement, he allowed himself again to intermingle in society, was again disgusted, and entered, a second time, into the wars against the Spaniards: but, abhorring a contest, in which one Christian was employed in the slaughter of another, he determined to use his sword in a cause more congenial with his feelings. Accordingly, after various misfortunes, and extraordinary, romantic adventures, he joined the Hungarian army, at that time fighting under the banners of Austria, against the Turks. By his ingenious stratagems, he contributed highly to his party's success. When encamped before the walls of Regall, in Transylvania, he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in a most singular adventure. So much time had been spent by the Christians in erecting batteries, that the Turks were apprehensive lest their enemy would depart, without making an assault upon the town; and, thereby, prevent them from gaining honour in their repulse; an honour, the more desirable, as many ladies of exalted rank were anxious observers of the siege, and longed, after so much delay, to see "some court-like pastime." In that chivalrous age, when every soldier fought under the patronage of a favourite mistress, whose image was impressed upon his heart, to request was to ensure performance. A Turkish noble immediately challenged any captain of the besieging army to single combat, "for each other's head." The challenge was readily accepted. The champion was appointed by lot, and fate selected the intrepid Smith.—The combat soon commenced, and soon the Turk paid the forfeit of his head: the ladies were desirous of another trial, and again Smith was rewarded with a head; the request was repeated, and the issue was the same. Shortly afterwards, he aided in taking the place by storm; and, for his former exploit, (which nothing but the manners of the age can excuse,) his name was enrolled in the heraldic records of Transylvania, with the appropriate armorial bearing of three Turks' heads.

The undaunted temper of Smith, deeply tinged with the romantic spirit of the times, was happily adapted to the

present trying situation. The vigour of his constitution was unimpaired, and his mind knew not the sensation of danger. As the recompense of his toils, he saw abundance and contentment re-established, and hoped that he should be able to maintain his people in a comfortable state, until the arrival of supplies from England. But his expectation was destroyed by an interesting misfortune. When hunting in the woods, he was attacked by two hundred Indians, who poured upon him a continued flight of arrows. Seizing one of the assailants, Smith tied him with his garter to his arm, and used him as a shield to arrest the darts; a resource which did not induce his companions to desist, nor was it sufficient to prevent their weapons from occasionally reaching the intended mark. He sunk, in this unequal contest, and was made prisoner. Charmed, however, by the various arts which he used to astonish or to please his Indian victors, they released him from captivity. Three hundred more, however, of these wandering people, a second time pursued him, forced him to seek refuge in a marsh, and, after he had thrown away his arms, which, by reason of the cold, he could no longer use, obliged him to surrender, and carried him in triumph to Powhatan, the principal chieftain of Virginia. The doom of death being pronounced, he was led to the place of execution, and his head already bowed down to receive the fatal blow; when the tender sentiment of female pity interposed in his behalf. At that instant, the favourite daughter of Powhatan rushed in between him and the uplifted club; and, by her entreaties and her tears, prevailed on her father to recall his sentence. Nor did the beneficence of this amiable child, (for she had not yet attained her thirteenth year,) terminate in the saving of his life: she soon afterwards procured his liberty, and sent him, from time to time, seasonable presents of provisions.

On his return to Jamestown, Smith found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons; who, in despair, were making preparations to abandon a country, which they thought not destined to be the habitation of Englishmen. This resolution, he with difficulty induced them to defer. The anxiously expected succour from England shortly afterwards arrived. Plenty was again restored: one hundred new planters were added to their number; and they received all things required for the interest of agriculture. But, an unlucky incident diverted their attention from the proper means of securing comfort to their situation. In a small

stream that issued from a bank of sand, near Jamestown, there was discovered a shining mineral substance, resembling gold. Every hand was now employed in its collection: large quantities of this glittering dust were gathered; and, by the judgment of an artist, whose ignorance of minerals was exceeded only by the credulity of his companions, it was pronounced extremely rich. With this imaginary wealth, the first vessel returning to England was entirely laden. The culture of the land, and every useful employment, were neglected; either forgotten, or abandoned with contempt.

The effects of this delusion were soon severely felt. Notwithstanding all the provident activity, the unremitting anxiety, the extraordinary self-denial, of captain Smith, the colony began to suffer as much as formerly, from scarcity of food and the consequent visitation of distempers. In the hope of obtaining some relief, Smith proposed to open an intercourse with the remote Indian tribes, and to ascertain their state of culture and population. The execution of this arduous and dangerous design, he, with his accustomed bravery and zeal, undertook himself; with a small open boat, a feeble crew, and a very scanty stock of provisions.

1608 He began his survey at Cape Charles; and, in two different excursions, which occupied above four months, visited all the countries on the eastern and western shores of the bay, entered most of the considerable creeks, traced many of the great rivers to their falls, and obtained a supply of food for the suffering colony. After sailing upwards of three thousand miles, and surmounting the severest hardships, with fortitude equal to whatever is related of the most daring adventurers, he returned to Jamestown; bringing an account of that large tract of country, now comprehended in the states of Virginia and Maryland; so full and correct, that from his map nearly all the subsequent delineations have been formed.

1609 At this period, a change was made in the constitution of the company, that promised to afford the colony security and happiness.

The supreme direction of all their operations, which the king had reserved to himself, discouraged persons of rank, property, or independent spirit, from becoming members of a society, subjected to the arbitrary decisions of the crown; upon a representation of which to James, he granted them a new charter, with privileges more ample and explicitly defined. He enlarged the boundaries of the colo-



ny; abolished the jurisdiction of the council in Virginia; vested the government entirely in one residing in London, the members of which were to be chosen by a majority of the proprietors; whom he empowered to nominate a governor, who should remain in Virginia, and carry their orders into execution.

To that important office, the new council appointed lord Delaware: but, as this nobleman could not immediately leave England, sir Thomas Gates and sir George Summers, the former of whom had been chosen lieutenant general, the latter, admiral, were despatched, with five hundred planters. Unfortunately, a violent hurricane separated, from the rest of the fleet, the vessel in which these officers had embarked. The remainder arrived safely at Jamestown. The accident, however, produced consequences which were serious and embarrassing. The original form of government was held abolished; no legal warrant could be found, for establishing any other; and every thing tended to the wildest anarchy. Smith was not in a condition to act with his accustomed vigour. By an accidental explosion of gun-powder, this generous hero, at once the Fabius and Marcellus, the shield and sword, of the infant colony, had been so dreadfully mangled, that he was incapable of moving; and was under the necessity of being carried to England, in the hope of recovering by a mode of treatment, more skilful than he could meet in Virginia.

We shall not attempt to exhibit a picture of the wretchedness which followed. We are unequal to the task; and, even were the task accomplished, the exhibition would be alike superfluous and disgusting. In less than six months, of five hundred persons, whom Smith had left in Virginia, only sixty remained alive; so feeble and dejected, that they could not have prolonged their existence for many days, had not succour arrived from a quarter, whence it could not have been expected, even by hope itself. Gates and

1610 Summers made their appearance. Although wrecked on one of the Bermuda islands, none of their companions had perished; and a considerable part of their provision had been saved. In that delightful spot, the hand of nature was so liberal, that one hundred and fifty persons subsisted comfortably, for ten months, upon her bounty. Impatient, however, to escape from a place where they were cut off from the rest of mankind; for, all was solitude, —not a wandering Indian was found amidst its forests; they commenced the building of two barks; which, by wonder-



ful ingenuity and perseverance, they at length completed, and, in these, after a more prosperous voyage than could reasonably have been expected, they arrived at Jamestown. But the relief which they afforded, though it saved the wretched survivors from immediate death, was unable to preserve them until the autumn. Nothing now remained, but that the whole should abandon the colony, and seek more immediate assistance. With only sixteen days' provision, they set sail, therefore, in hopes of soon reaching the banks of Newfoundland, and getting relief from their countrymen, employed there, at that season, in the fishery. But, before they had proceeded to the mouth of the river, they were met by lord Delaware; who brought a large supply of sustenance, a considerable number of new settlers, and every thing requisite either for cultivation or defence.

1611 Under the humane and skilful administration of this nobleman, the colony began, once more, to assume a promising appearance. He was succeeded by sir Thomas Dale; who concluded a treaty of friendship with the Powhatans; one of the most powerful and warlike tribes in Virginia.

An event, not very honourable to the governor, prepared the way for that union. Pocahuntas, to whose intercession captain Smith was indebted for his life, having persevered in her attachment to the English, frequently visited their settlements; and, during this intercourse, was betrayed, by a reward of a copper kettle given to an old Indian woman, on board a vessel, and there imprisoned. Her father, who loved her with most ardent affection, was now obliged to discontinue hostilities, and conclude a treaty, on such terms as were dictated by his treacherous enemy. The treaty, thus begun in perfidy, was, notwithstanding, productive of signal benefit; and, in consequence of a subsequent occurrence, cherished by its victim, with as much attachment as it had before experienced his opposition. The beauty of Pocahuntas made so great an impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young gentleman of considerable rank, that he warmly entreated her to accept of him as a husband. The princess readily consented, and her father did not dis-

1613 prove the alliance. The marriage was celebrated, with extraordinary pomp; and, from that period, a friendly correspondence subsisted between the colony and all the tribes subject to Powhatan, or that were under the influence of his power. Rolfe and his princess went to England; where, by the introduction of captain Smith, she

was received at court, with the respect due to her birth, and to the happy advantages arising from the union; was carefully instructed in the Christian religion, and publicly baptized. In her return to America, Pocahuntas died at Gravesend. She left one son: from whom are sprung some of the most respectable families in Virginia; who boast of their descent from this celebrated female, the daughter of the ancient rulers of the country.

Powhatan had sent with the princess a cunning Indian, under pretence of merely officiating as her servant; but, it soon appeared, that this man was vested with a very different, and far more important, commission—the numbering of the inhabitants of England; in fact, the making of a statistical survey of the nation. For this purpose, on his arrival at Plymouth, he procured a long stick, upon which he assiduously began to note the census: but, a very short time being sufficient to convince him that his arithmetic was inadequate to so extended a task, he wisely relinquished the design.

Meanwhile, sir Thomas Dale, not satisfied with the concessions already extorted from Powhatan, deputed a messenger to that prince, with further indications of his friendship. “The governor,” said the agent of this insidious offer, “has sent you two pieces of copper, five strings of white and blue beads, five wooden combs, ten fishing-hooks, and a pair of knives; he will also give you a grind-stone, if you think proper to convey it from the settlement: hearing of the excellent qualities of your youngest daughter, he intends to marry her, and desires that you will send her to him by me.”—“I gladly accept your salute of love and peace,” replied the wary chieftain, “which, while I live, I shall respect; and I thankfully receive the pledges of his esteem: but, as for my daughter, I have given her to a prince who resides about three days’ journey hence.”—“You can, however, recall her, to gratify ‘your brother,’” rejoined the messenger; “and the more easily, as she is now only twelve years old.”—“Never,” returned the indignant father; “I love my daughter as my life; and, though I have many children, I delight in none so much as in her. Should I not often behold her, I could not possibly exist: and see her I could not, were she to be consigned to him: having resolved not to put myself into the hands of your people, nor go amongst them. Carry back, then, to my brother, this answer,—that I desire no farther proof of his friendship, than the promise he has made:

from me, he has a pledge, one of my beloved daughters; which, during her life, must be sufficient: when she dies, he shall have another. But I hold it not a brotherly part, his desiring to bereave me of two of my children, at once. If any injury be offered, my country is large enough to secure me from his grasp: I am old, and wish to conclude my days in peace."

Hitherto, no right of individual property in lands was established. The small quantity which had been cleared, was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; the produce was lodged in common store-houses, and distributed weekly to every family, according to its numbers and its wants. A society, so constituted, might, indeed, under a rigid discipline, and the terrors of actual famine, produce the mere requisites of existence; but it was not formed to advance beyond that lowest approximation to a state of infancy. The idle must still be a weight on the industrious. To remedy this evil, the governor divided a considerable extent of land into small lots, and granted one of these, for ever, to each individual; from which period, the colony rapidly extended and improved. They began the culture of tobacco, a native of that soil, since become the great staple of Virginia. But the eager demand for this article in England, caused, for some time, another scarcity of food; the inconsiderate attention to its production constrained the settlers again to plunder the unhappy Indians, revived their antipathy to the English name, and called forth a renewal of their desolating vengeance.

Notwithstanding this dreadful state of alarm, the colonists still pursued the cultivation of the favourite plant; and, as they formed more extensive projects, were unexpectedly furnished with the means of executing them with greater facility. How much would we rejoice, could the cause, at this moment, be buried in oblivion, its effect be no longer traced! A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James' River, sold to the planters a part of her negroes; which race has been augmented in Virginia, by successive importations, and the natural increase, until it exceeds the number of the whites. What a climax of human cupidity and turpitude; what a glaring inconsistency, between the public professions, and the private actions, of individuals; are here presented for consideration! Only forty years were elapsed, since Holland had burst the fetters of a Spanish despot. She was, at this period, the favourite asylum of the oppressed: thus, enjoying a politi-



cal freedom, made yet sweeter by the recollections of a sanguinary bondage, and the proud satisfaction of receiving within her bosom the trembling victims of superstition. But, the fetters which her citizens had thus broken, and cast upon the ground, are quickly lifted and repaired. With adamantine permanence, they are transferred to the feeble, unoffending native, of another clime. The commerce, which liberty had extended, is now made subservient to the increase of slavery. The colonists become partakers in the crime: they place the last rivet to the chains; and plead necessity in exculpation. But, there was no necessity: the land which they had deserted maintained only a scanty population, and required not their removal. Its neglected soil was more generous, its climate more congenial, than was either in the country that they adopted; its laws more liberal than those which they now obeyed. It had not driven these colonists away: their emigration was voluntary; embraced with ardour, because dictated by ambition.

Scarcely had they committed this violence on the liberty of others, when they succeeded in the extension of their own. Whilst trampling on their fellow men, they seemed to rise in their own importance, and be impressed with a more lively sense of the value of freedom. In compliance with this spirit, the governor, sir George Yeardley,  
1619 called a general assembly, the first held in Virginia. Population was now so increased, and the settlements were so dispersed, that eleven corporations sent representatives to this convention; which was permitted to assume legislative power, the natural privilege of man. The supreme authority was lodged partly in the governor, partly in a council of state appointed by the company, and in a general assembly, composed of representatives of the people. The first resembled the sovereign; the second, the house of peers; and the last, the house of commons, of the British constitution: then the best mode of free government ever established by any nation of the world, and the system from which all subsequent English colonial policy has been formed.

A natural effect of that happy change was an increase of their agriculture. There was now produced tobacco, adequate not only to the consumption of Great Britain, but some also for a foreign market. The company opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses in Middleburgh and Flushing. This measure is remarkable, as having produced the first difference of sentiment between the colony and the parent state. Jealous at seeing a commodi-



ty, for which the demand was every day increasing, conducted to foreign ports, without being subject to its control, thereby causing a diminution of its revenue, the latter endeavoured to check this colonial enterprise; not considering that the restraint was a breach of the sacred principles of justice.

The bold spirit of discussion which the new constitution had infused into the general courts of the colony in London, having soon drawn the attention, and roused the suspicion, of James, their charter, by a decision of the king's bench, was forfeited, and the company dissolved. His successor, Charles the first, adopted all his father's maxims, with respect to Virginia; so that, during a great part of his reign, it knew no other law than the royal will. But, the colonists not quietly submitting to this system of oppression, Charles yielded to the people's voice: he recalled Harvey, his obnoxious governor, and in his place appointed sir William Berkeley; a man of consummate abilities and exalted rank, prudent, virtuous, and popular: under whose administration, Virginia remained, with some short periods of interruption, almost forty years. This pleasing change in the person of the governor, was accompanied by a still farther amelioration in the mode of government. The growing opposition experienced by the king from domestic subjects, prompted him to court the affections of those abroad. Berkeley, though the literal tenor of his commission was the same with that of his predecessor, received instructions to declare, that, in all its concerns, civil and ecclesiastical, the colony would be governed by the laws of England. He was directed to issue writs for choosing representatives of the people; who, in conjunction with himself and the council, were to form a general assembly, and possess supreme legislative power, (subject, however, to the ratification of the general courts in England,) and to establish courts of justice, in which all causes should be decided, agreeably to the forms of procedure in the parent state.

After royalty was abolished in Great Britain, by the execution of the king, and the consequent establishment of a commonwealth, the authority of the crown continued to be acknowledged in Virginia. Retaining a lively gratitude towards a monarch, from whom, through whatever reason, they had received immunities, not less valuable than unexpected, the colonists had preserved unshaken loyalty to Charles, during all his misfortunes. But the measures of the commonwealth were prompt and vigor-

ous. A numerous squadron, with a considerable  
1651 body of land-forces, was despatched, to reduce the Virginians to obedience. Berkeley made resistance to this formidable armament; but could not long maintain so unequal a contest. He was soon defeated. His gallant conduct, however, instead of injuring, was of service, to his people. They received indemnity for the past, and were allowed all the privileges of citizens. But the governor disdained to make any stipulations for himself; and, choosing to pass his days far from a government which he detested, he continued, for some years, in Virginia, as a private man, beloved and respected by all over whom he had presided.

The English commonwealth was not satisfied with the mere subjection of the colonies. It next turned its attention to securing, by an express law, the benefit of their increasing commerce. With this view, the parliament framed two acts: one, prohibiting all mercantile intercourse between the colonies and foreign states; the other, the importation of Asiatic, African, or American produce, into the dominions of the commonwealth, except in vessels belonging to English subjects, or to the people of the respective colonies from which the importation was made; navigated by an English commander, and by crews, the greater part of which must be Englishmen.

On the death of Mathews, the last governor appointed by Cromwell, after he had usurped the supreme power, the Virginians, no longer under the control of authority, burst out with the utmost violence. They forced sir William Berkeley from his retirement, boldly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the second, son of the late monarch, their lawful sovereign. Thus, they were the last British subjects who renounced, and the first who returned, to their allegiance; a distinction, which, with whatever degree of pride they were once fond of recollecting it, would, now, be willingly relinquished.

Indeed, the satisfaction of living under their ancient sovereign, was all, perhaps, they had expected. For, though the unbending disposition of the Stuarts promised no amendment in the government, their title was undisputed, their family, from its antiquity, more respected than that which had usurped their place; considerations of momentous influence, on the minds of a large number of men of rank, recently arrived in the colony, to avoid the dangers to which their principles exposed them in England. For-

fortunately for the Virginians, another revolution soon placed Charles the second on the throne, and saved them from the chastisement to which they were exposed by their previous declaration in his favour. But, gracious professions of esteem were the only return made by the new king for their loyalty and service; and the new parliament, instead of removing the restraints imposed upon their trade by the commonwealth, not only adopted all their ideas, but carried them still farther. This produced the memorable Act of Navigation. It enjoined, that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement, in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, except in vessels built in England, or in the plantations; of which vessels, the masters and three fourths of the mariners should be English subjects: and that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, or woods used in dying, of the growth or manufacture of the colonies, should be shipped from them to any country except England. Soon afterwards, this act was extended, and prohibited the importation of any European commodity into the colonies, unless laden in England, in vessels navigated according to the tenor of the act.

From that period, until the English revolution in 1688, if we except an insurrection raised by Nathaniel Bacon, a colonel of militia, there is no occurrence in the history of Virginia, essential to be noticed. The number of its inhabitants then exceeded sixty thousand; by which, it appears, that in the previous twenty-eight years its population was doubled.

The college of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, the principal seminary of learning in this state, was founded in 1691, in the reign of the sovereigns whose name it bears. To aid in its erection and support, they gave nearly two thousand pounds, out of their private purse, and granted twenty thousand acres of land, besides a penny a pound on all tobacco sent from the province and from Maryland to the other English plantations. The assembly gave it additional revenues; which increased its annual income to upwards of three thousand pounds; and a considerable donation was added, by the great Irish philosopher Boyle, for the literary and religious instruction of the Indians.

When the continent of North America was first visited by Europeans, the whole country, with the exception of small patches cleared by the aborigines, and the *prairies*, or natural meadows, since discovered in the western territories, was one uninterrupted forest. The groves were



generally thick and lofty. Sometimes, the trees were felled by the aid of fire and of sharp stones, but, for the most part, they grew, died, and decayed, upon the same spot. Much of the surface, especially near the sea-coast and along the banks of rivers, was covered with swamps and stagnant waters. There were no horses, cows, sheep, swine, nor tame animals of any kind; but plenty of deer, moose, elks, and buffaloes; bears, squirrels, and rabbits: also wolves, and a kind of lion; besides other quadrupeds, amounting in the whole, by the accounts received in Virginia, to twenty-eight different species. There was abundance of wild turkeys, pigeons, swans, geese, ducks, partridges, herons, cranes, and hawks; and a vast number of other birds; making, in all, eighty-five kinds. Sturgeon, herring, trout, ray, mullet, plaice; together with crabs, lobsters, tortoises, muscles, and oysters; abounded in the rivers. In the woods, the natives gathered, chesnuts, grapes, walnuts, medlars, apple-crabs, hurtleberries, and strawberries: they cultivated maize, peas, beans, pompions, melons, and gourds; and were furnished, by the hand of nature, with an extensive variety of large bulbous roots, which they dried and used as bread. In agriculture, they had made some progress. With wooden instruments, they broke up the surface of the ground, and levelled the weeds and old stalks of corn; which, after remaining for a while exposed to the sun, they burned to ashes, and scattered as manure. At a distance of three feet, and in regular rows, they made holes, in each of which they sowed four grains of corn, every grain being separate; and, in the intervals, planted beans, peas, pompions, melons, and other useful vegetables. This is very similar to the most improved method of the present day; and, when viewed in conjunction with the produce, leads to an opinion, that these people were not inferior, in the arts of husbandry, to the cotemporaneous inhabitants of Great Britain; and that they wanted only the aid of iron, to render them superior.\* “An English acre, amongst the Indians,” says Hariot, the acute observer, from whom, chiefly, is drawn this account of their domestic economy

\* “Agriculture, though much improved,” says Hume, “was still very imperfect. So much so, that the people of England, in a great measure, depended upon foreign nations for their daily bread. Wheat was considered low at thirty-two shillings; barley, at sixteen shillings per quarter of eight bushels.”



and means of subsistence, "will yield, of corn, beans, and peas, two hundred London bushels; whereas, in England, forty bushels of wheat from the same extent, are considered as a large crop." In some other parts, however, they pursued the cultivation of the soil on a much more extended scale. Towards the south, in those districts now known by the names of West Florida and Alabama, many thousand bushels of corn were collected against a time of need, in the public granaries. This grain, distinguished in Europe by the name of maize, was called by the Indians *pogattour*. In Virginia, there were silk-worms, as large as walnuts; grass, resembling silk, of which a piece of cloth was manufactured in England; besides flax and hemp, equal in quality to those of Britain. But, of all the objects of cultivation, the most careful attention seemed given to the uppowac; at present known, in commercial language, by the name of tobacco. This was sown in beds, distinct from every other plant; as if to preserve it from the unhallowed contact of an ignoble companion; it being the favourite incense offered to their deity, and considered efficacious in quelling the stormy waves. They did not, however, confine its use to the altar of the invisible spirit. It had an extensive consumption, in the ordinary mode of smoking, in pipes made of clay, as a potent averter of disease.

Their houses were built in a variety of forms, and of various dimensions. Some were framed with small poles, brought together and fastened at the top, in a round, or an oval form, resembling an arbour in an English garden, and covered with bark, or with mats made of long rushes: others were constructed with whole trees, in the manner of the present log-house, and covered with palmetto leaves. In several of these, which, according to the opinion of Harriot, were not inferior to the houses of Great Britain, a hundred people slept in one room; there being a separate apartment for the king and queen. Each person lay on a log of wood, hollowed so as to accommodate the back, with the head supported on a higher piece, which formed the pillow. The fire was kindled in the centre, and the smoke found a passage through the door.\* Ignition was produced by a

\* England, about the same period, offers a similar picture of domestic economy. "At this time, the dwellings of people, even of considerable estate, were of plank, badly put together, and chimneys were almost unknown in England. The fire was kindled by the wall,

continued rubbing together of two sticks. They had neither chair nor stool, but sat on the ground, commonly with their elbows on their knees; a mode and attitude still in general practice amongst the poor peasantry in some parts of Europe. A few wooden and stone vessels served every domestic purpose. Their knife was a sharp stone, shell, or reed; with which, they cut their hair, and trimmed their bows and arrows. They made their axes of stones, shaped similar to the usual ones of iron. They had wooden mortars, stone pestles, and chisels; and dressed their corn with a clam-shell, or with a stick made flat and sharp at one end. They had hooks made of flexible bone, which they used for fishing; and nets, for the same purpose, thirty feet long, wrought with cords of hemp, twisted by the women. Their towns, near the sea-coast, were small, and few in number. They contained each from ten to thirty houses; and were not unfrequently defended by a wall of stakes, driven closely together into the ground.

The language of one community was different from that of another; and the greater the intervening distance between the nations, the more perceptible was the dissimilarity.

Notwithstanding that these people were very ignorant, when compared with the English, (in the opinion of the same writer,) yet, making allowance for their want of means to display their acquirements, they were both smart and ingenious. Nor were they destitute of religion. Unaided by the blessings of revelation, they had, by the mere dictates of natural reason, received a system, which was, in a great measure, adequate to the prevention of injustice. They believed, that there were many gods; who were of various degrees, and possessed peculiar attributes: but, that there was one God, above the whole, by whom the others, and the universe, were made: that the soul was immortal; and that there was, in a future state, a place of reward for the virtuous, and punishment for the wicked. They had priests; and also temples, where were placed images of their gods, in human shape, which they worshipped.

and the smoke found its way through the roof, door, or windows. The furniture was appropriate. The people slept on straw pallets, having a log under their heads for a pillow, and almost every domestic utensil was of wood."

*Reign of Mary.—Hume.*

The priests were not so positive in regard to the truth of their own religion, as to prevent their expressing great doubts of its correctness, and listening, with much attention, to the doctrines of Christianity; a respect, however, caused by an impression, that the English were, in comparison with themselves, a superior order of beings. They treated their governors with profound reverence; and were obedient to the laws; which inflicted penalties in proportion to the crime, extending, for enormous offences, to life itself.

The narrow circle within which we have confined our observations, precludes our relating the manners and customs of many Indian nations, advanced much higher towards civilization. The Peruvians and Mexicans had risen far above those of the north; and, in the less remote districts, bordering on the great western waters of the present United States, works of considerable importance in the science of defensive warfare, as well as institutions of civil government, evinced a degree of elevation, much above the rude operations of primitive society. No stronger evidence need be offered in support of the latter assertion, than the circumstance of females being, in several nations, invested with supreme authority. Amongst a people as yet unacquainted with the salutary restraints imposed by a social contract of civil government, and whose natural energies are solely turned to the business of war, those, only, are honoured with the chief station, who are qualified, by their valour and experience, to lead the nation against an enemy. But, here, the long-established practice of civilized monarchies appeared. Hereditary accession had gradually arisen, when the people, having acquired a relish for domestic comforts, no longer sought to enlarge their territories, by the extermination of a neighbour, but aimed solely at guarding their ancient possessions against occasional incursion.

In their persons, the Indians of America are, in general, tall, straight, and well proportioned; with dark eyes, and aquiline nose: their colour is a dark brown, approaching more to a black, than a red, hue: their hair, we believe, is universally black, of uncommon strength. Beards are rarely seen amongst them: a smooth chin is considered an essential mark of decency: and, accordingly, a hair is not suffered for a moment to appear; a fashion since adopted in Europe, though entirely opposite to that which prevailed there at the period of the first English settlement in Vir-



ginia; as the mustachio was then universal. Captain Smith speaks of accidentally meeting "his old friend Mosco, a lusty savage of Wichomoco," whom he took to be "a Frenchman's son, because he had acquired a black bushy beard."—"Buffon," observes Mr. Charles Thomson, in allusion to the characteristic traits of the aborigines, "has, indeed, given an affecting picture of the man of America: but, sure I am, that there never was a picture more unlike the original. 'They have no beard,' that author asserts! Had he known the pains and trouble it costs the men to pluck out, by the roots, the hair which grows on their faces, he would have confessed that nature had not been deficient in that respect. I have seen an Indian beau, with a glass in his hand, examining his face for hours together, and pulling out every hair he could discover, with a kind of tweezer, which he used with great dexterity."

In dress, and artificial appearance in general, they resembled the ancient Britons. They were partially clothed in deerskins, coloured yellow, red, russet, or black: their bodies, also, were stained, and punctured with thorns, to make the paint more lasting. The women sometimes wore gowns of moss, ingeniously matted into a kind of cloth. A few of the men had in their ears a small green and yellow snake, about half a yard in length; which, twining itself around their necks, would often familiarly kiss their lips. Some ornamented their heads with the wing of a bird, or a large feather and a rattle: others, with the entire skin of a hawk, stuffed, and the wings extended. Their arms were similar to those used by all nations unacquainted with gunpowder,—bows, darts, and clubs. Their boats were formed mostly from the solid tree, hollowed by stones and fire; and many were capacious enough to carry twenty men, with their arms and baggage.

The Indian is more remarkable for agility than strength; fitted rather for the rapid pursuit of the forest game, than the laborious duty of agriculture. His frame has habitually assumed a texture corresponding with his employment; and, in a thinly populated country, this lies amidst the swift-footed tenants of the woods. In the same manner, the miller, the porter, the city chairman, display their several professions, in the conformation of their shoulders, and the muscular rotundity of their legs or arms.

Of all uncivilized people, the Indians are the most distinguished orators. When addressing the passions, their language is highly figurative and bold; warm, animating,

and interesting. They have an ingenious mode of retaining the substance of their debates. A number of persons stand around the speaker, and, at the end of every division of his discourse, receive from him, in succession, a small piece of stick, as a memorial of the preceding passage; which, on any future occasion, they are thus enabled fully to recollect.

These are all the observations which it is thought material to make, in this place, respecting the aborigines of America. We have not endeavoured to give extraneous ornament to history, by ingenious fictions of the imagination; to associate falsehood with truth, and degrade millions of our fellow beings, by unsupported assertions of physical inferiority. European writers have assigned to the Indian, qualities of mind and body; passions of the one, and imbecilities of the other; which are alike erroneous and unfounded. Having discovered a new world, they think that it should be inhabited by a people wholly different from those of the old, in every thing except the human form: but, recollecting that the whole race of man are descended from a common parent, and that this parent was created in Asia, they trace his journey from the old world, and show, with industrious anxiety, his Asiatic resemblance. They pursue another branch of their flimsy system, and before their treatise is concluded, destroy the entire romance by unavoidable collision.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

*Settlement of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and the district of Maine. Sir William Phipps.*

WE have already mentioned the partition made of the great territory of Virginia, into North and South colonies. The operations of the Plymouth company, to whom was assigned the conduct of the northern division, were still more feeble than those of the southern; though animated by the zeal of sir John Popham, chief justice of England, sir Ferdinando Gorges, and other public spirited gentlemen of the west.

The first vessel which they sent out was captured by the Spaniards; and their next attempt was not more successful.



In the following year, 1607, the same in which Jamestown was founded, they began a small settlement on the river Sagadahoc, now called the Kennebec: but, on account of the rigour of the climate, it was soon abandoned; and, for some time, nothing farther was attempted than a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, or a petty traffic with the natives. One of the vessels equipped for this purpose, in 1614, was commanded by captain Smith; who was employed also on objects more congenial with his enterprising mind. He explored its coast and delineated its bays and harbours. On his return, he laid before the prince of Wales, the map, on which he had inscribed "New England;" a title that the prince, delighted by the representations of Smith, immediately confirmed.

Although that adventure had been lucrative, and easily accomplished, it was not sufficient to allure the people to emigration. The splendid description which Smith published of his discoveries, as well as the profit arising from his voyage, was regarded with suspicion. The one was viewed as the transcript of a mind naturally enthusiastic and easily deceived by novelty; the other, as the fruits of piratical violence. But, what could not be effected by the desire of pecuniary emolument, was accomplished by the operations of a higher principle. Religion had gradually excited amongst a large body of the English, a spirit eminently fitted to encounter the dangers, and surmount the obstacles, which, hitherto, had rendered abortive the schemes of the company at Plymouth. To this, are the various settlements in New England indebted for their origin. It is not our intention, nor is it essential, to trace, minutely, the various decrees fulminated against the exercise of all religious ceremonies, or against the promulgation of religious tenets, at variance with the court opinions, by the tyrannical Henry, or the less severe ministers of Edward; the ferocious Mary, or the more cautious, and less rigid, policy, of Elizabeth and James. To the disgrace of Christian professors, the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment, were not properly understood; nor the charity and mutual forbearance taught by their sacred master, at that period practised, in any country. Every church employed the hand of power, in supporting its own doctrines and opposing the tenets of another; in disseminating its own truth, and destroying another's error. When reforming the ritual and exterior symbols of the church of England, Elizabeth, lest, by a too wide departure from the



Roman church, she might alarm the populace, who are attached to religious worship, more through the medium of the senses than of the understanding, had allowed many of the ancient ceremonies to remain unaltered. With several of these, however, a large number of her subjects being dissatisfied, they wished to address their Creator agreeably to their own opinions, but were subjected to very rigorous penalties. One of the most strenuous and popular declaimers against the established church, was Robert Brown; who reduced his ideas to a system, and prohibited his people from holding communion with any other. From their founder, his followers were called Brownists; and, though he abandoned his disciples, and accepted a benefice in the established church, the sect continued to spread, especially in the middle and lower ranks of life. But, as they were carefully observed, and rigorously punished, a body, weary of living in continual danger and alarm, retired to Holland, and settled in Leyden, under the care of a respectable pastor, Mr. John Robinson. After remaining there for many years, the society were desirous of removing to some other place, where they might profess and disseminate their opinions with more pleasure and success; and, not deterred by the hardships to which all former emigrants had been exposed, they turned their thoughts upon America, and applied to James; who, though he refused to give them any positive assurance of toleration, seems to have intimated some promise of passive indulgence, so long as their conduct was inoffensive.

Accepting the terms, they readily procured a tract of land from the company of Plymouth. But their preparations were very inadequate to begin a settlement in a distant region. Only one hundred and twenty persons were collected for this arduous undertaking. They sailed from Plymouth, in 1620; their destination being Hudson's River: however, the captain of their vessel having been bribed, it is said, by the Dutch, who had already formed a plan, afterwards accomplished, of sending thither a colony, carried them so far towards the north, that the first land they reached was Cape Cod. This treacherous behaviour placed them not only beyond their stipulated territory, but even beyond the boundaries of the company from whom they derived their title. To proceed farther was dangerous. It was now the 11th of November. Winter was approaching, and the hardships of a long voyage had caused a general imbecility and sickness. But the disappointment, so far

from being injurious, seems a fortunate event: as the country of their destination was thickly inhabited by Indians, and this, almost depopulated; a pestilence having recently swept off more than three fourths of its inhabitants. Before landing, they bound themselves, by a written covenant, to be ruled by the majority; elected John Carver their governor for one year; and, on the 11th of December, chose for their station a place called by the Indians Patuxet, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth; partly because the harbour in which it is situated had been styled Plymouth by captain Smith, and partly in remembrance of the kind treatment they had received in the port of that name in England.

Before the spring, half their number were cut off by famine or disease; and even those who remained were unable to give the requisite attention to the providing of food. They were frequently employed in skirmishing with the Indians. Let it not, however, be imagined, that the latter were the aggressors. The records of the ancient settlers incontestibly prove that the Indians were attacked without provocation. In a few days after the English landed, captain Standish, with a party of sixteen men, well armed, went to explore the country; and, about a mile from the sea, discovered five "savages," who immediately fled. "*He pursued them about ten miles*; but, night coming on, he placed sentinels, kindled a fire, and rested quietly." In the morning, *he continued the pursuit*, as far as Pamet river, without seeing either inhabitants or habitations. Early in December, he set out upon a fourth expedition of discovery. On the first day, he saw a small party of Indians, who fled; and about midnight, when sleeping in the woods, being roused by the sentinel, his men fired two guns, but perceived no enemy: the shots, however, alarmed the poor natives, who were probably lurking in the neighbourhood, anxious to watch the motions of an enemy, who had invaded their territory, and assailed them without reason. Wherefore, in the morning, a shower of arrows was poured against the English, accompanied by savage yells, no less terrible to the Europeans, than were the explosions of the death-dealing musket to the Indians.

Amongst the various traces of civilized life, then observed, there was one evidence worthy of attention, as it will aid in removing the erroneous estimate of the social improvement of those people, so generally entertained. After passing some corn-fields, the notice of the English was

arrested by a regular burying-yard, encompassed with palisades, driven closely together; several of the graves being carefully surrounded in the same manner.

It was a favourite opinion with all the enthusiasts of that age, that the Scriptures contained a complete system of civil government, as well as of spiritual instruction; and, in consequence, without attending to the peculiar circumstances, or situation, of the people whose history is there recorded, they deduced general rules, for their own conduct, from what had been ordained to men in a very different state. Influenced by this erroneous idea, the colonists of New Plymouth, in imitation of the primitive Christians, threw all their property into a common stock, and carried on every work of industry by their joint labour, for public benefit. This method, though it displayed the sincerity of their professions, retarded the progress of their colony. The same fatal effects flowed from this community of goods, that had, before, from different motives, been experienced in Virginia; and it was soon, through necessity, relinquished. Excited by the same notion, and viewing themselves as a chosen people of God, all their institutions had reference to some scriptural laws; the language of their familiar and historical writings, was mostly quotations from the Bible; their hopes, their fears, their prospects of victory, or prognostications of defeat, all, were regulated by the impulse of imaginary inspiration. Under these impressions, their increase was extremely slow. Their religious principles were so extraordinary and unsocial, that, at the end of ten years, these well-meaning people, when they became incorporated with their more powerful neighbours of Massachusetts Bay, did not exceed three hundred.

Of the latter colony, it is now our intention to treat. Notwithstanding the persecutions, to which religious dissenters, of every denomination, were still exposed in Britain, their zeal and number continued to augment; and, as they despaired of obtaining, in their own country, any relaxation of the penal laws against their sect, they hoped to find an asylum in New England. By the activity of Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, an association having been made to conduct a colony thither, they purchased from the council of Plymouth, a territory, extending in length from three miles north of Merrimack, to three miles south of Charles river; and in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean; a boundary then supposed to be not very far distant from the western shore. They found



no difficulty in procuring partners sufficient to attempt its occupation. But, as they entertained doubts concerning the propriety of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a private company of patentees, who, though they might convey a right to the soil, could not convey the privilege of forming a government, they applied for the necessary powers to Charles the first; who granted their request, with a facility that appears extraordinary, when we consider their principles and views. The charter which they obtained was similar to that given to the two Virginia companies, by James. They were formed into a corporation, empowered to dispose of the lands, and govern the people who should settle on them; and, notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were to have all the rights of natural-born subjects. The first governor and his assistants were appointed by the crown: the right of electing their successors was vested in the corporation. Charles seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure. So far was he from encouraging emigrants by any hope of religious indulgence, that he expressly provided for having the oath acknowledging his supremacy in the church, administered to every inhabitant of the colony. But, whatever were the intentions of the king, the adventurers kept their own object steadily in view. In the year 1629, they fitted out for New England five ships; on board of which there embarked upwards of three hundred passengers; amongst whom, were several eminent non-conforming ministers. On their arrival, they found the miserable remains of a small party, that had left England the preceding year, under the conduct of Mr. Endicott; who, prior to their incorporation by royal charter, had been appointed deputy governor. They were settled at a place, called by the Indians, Naunekeag; to which, he had given the Scripture-name of Salem. Immediately, the new colonists began the formation of their church; without regarding the intentions of the king, but in accordance with that system which has since been distinguished by the name of Independent. They elected, by the imposition of hands, a pastor, a teacher, and an elder; and all who were admitted members of the church, gave an account of the foundation of their own hope as Christians. They disencumbered their public worship of every superfluous ceremony, and reduced it to the lowest standard of Calvinistic simplicity.

Much as we respect that noble spirit, which enabled them to part with their native soil; by some, held dearer than friends, relatives, or children, and, by every generous bosom, preferred even to life itself; we must condemn the proceedings which ensued. In the first moment when they began to taste of Christian liberty themselves, they forgot that others had a right to the same enjoyment. Some of the colonists, who had not emigrated through motives of religion, retaining a high veneration for the ritual of the English church, refused to join the colonial state-establishment, and assembled separately to worship. But their objections were not suffered to pass unnoticed, nor unpunished. Endicott called before him the two principal offenders; and, though they were men of respectability, and amongst the number of original patentees, he expelled them from the colony, and sent them home in the first ships returning to England. Had this inquisitorial usurpation been no farther exercised, some apology, or at least, palliation, might be framed. More interesting and painful consequences, however, not long afterwards, resulted. The very men who had countenanced this violation of Christian duties, lived to see their own descendants excluded from church communion; to behold their grandchildren, the smiling infants at the breast, denied the sacred rite of baptism.

As the intolerant disposition of archbishop Laud, in the parent country, exacted religious conformity with increasing rigour, the desire of emigration grew proportionally ardent; and several who now felt indignant at those measures, were persons of greater opulence, and of higher rank, than any who had hitherto settled in New England. By their influence, an important alteration was effected. The company consented that the government of the colony should be transferred to America, and vested exclusively in those members who should reside there.

This transfer, though perhaps irregular, met no interruption from the crown. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy governor, with eighteen assistants; to whom, and the body of freemen, were intrusted all the corporate rights of the company. In the course of the ensuing year, fifteen hundred persons sailed for Massachusetts; amongst whom, were many distinguished families; some in easy, several in affluent, circumstances. On their arrival, a number were so dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, that they

1630 removed; and, settling in various places around the bay, founded Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxborough, and other towns, since become of considerable importance. Boston was named, through respect to Mr. Cotton, after a town in Lincolnshire, of which, before his arrival in New England, he had been minister. The extension of these settlements was aided by the sudden decrease of the natives. The small-pox, introduced by the English, had carried off the Indian race in so great multitudes, that whole tribes disappeared, and thus left vacant a country in which they might remain without disturbance.

The first general court was held at Charlestown, on board the ship *Arabella*. In this meeting, they ventured to deviate from their charter, in a matter of great moment; a deviation which strongly affected all the future operations of the colony. A law was passed, declaring that none should be admitted as freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or even to serve as jurymen, except those who had been received as members of the church; by which measure, every person whose mind was not of a peculiar structure, or accidentally impressed with peculiar ideas, was at once cast out of society, and stripped of his civic rights.

This fanatical spirit continued to increase. But the next transaction was more puerile than injurious; rather a subject of amusement than a matter of alarm. A minister in Salem, named Roger Williams, having conceived an aversion to the cross of St. George, a symbol in the standard of England, declaimed against it with so much vehemence, as a relic of superstition and idolatry which ought not to be retained amongst a people so sanctified and pure, that Endicott, in a transport of zeal, cut out the cross from the ensign displayed before the governor's gate. This frivolous matter interested and divided the colony. Some of the militia were now unwilling to follow a standard in which there was a cross, lest they should do honour to an idol; others refused to serve under a mutilated banner, lest they should be suspected of having renounced their allegiance to the crown of England. The contest was at length ended by a compromise. The cross was retained in the ensigns of forts and vessels, but erased from the colours of the militia.

The restless disposition of Williams had caused his banishment from Salem; a circumstance to which is owing,



1636 the foundation of another state; for, so great was the attachment of his hearers, that many accompanied him in his exile. They directed their march towards the south; and purchased from the natives a considerable tract of land, to which their leader gave the name of Providence: and, two years afterwards, William Coddington, a wealthy merchant of Boston, having, with seventy-six others, been banished from Massachusetts, for favouring the religious doctrines of the celebrated Ann Hutchinson, and holding no less than eighty erroneous opinions, purchased, from the Indians, Aquetneck, a fertile island in Naraganset bay; and named it Rhode Island, (after the island of Rhodes;) under which title, the previous settlement, by Williams, is now included. Protection being afforded to the oppressed, their new settlement became, in a few years, so populous, as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores. After his removal, Mr. Coddington embraced the sentiments of the Quakers, or Friends, and became the head of that society in the island. The first establishment was made at the north end, and named Portsmouth; the next, on a fine harbour, at the south-east, which was called Newport; a town that in a few years became the capital of the colony. They received a charter from the British parliament, shortly after the commencement of the civil wars in the reign of Charles the first; and a confirmation and enlargement of their constitutional powers from his successor. By this, it was ordered, that "none were ever to be molested for any difference of opinion in religious matters:" yet, the very first assembly convened under this authority, excluded Roman Catholics from voting at elections, and from every office in the government.

To similar causes, the state of Connecticut is indebted for its origin. About one hundred persons, with their families, accompanied by Mr. Hooker, a favourite minister of Massachusetts, after a fatiguing march through woods and swamps, settled on the western side of the great river Connecticut, and laid the foundation of Hartford, Springfield, and Weathersfield; the first of which is now the capital. This settlement was attended with great irregularities. Part of the lands lay beyond the limits of the territory granted to the colony of Massachusetts Bay; the authority from which the emigrants derived the power of jurisdiction. Two distinct claims were now made to the tract which they occupied; one, by the Dutch, the other, by lord Say and Seal and lord Brook. The former, then established at Man

hattan, (called by them New Amsterdam, and, subsequently, by the British, New York,) had discovered the Connecticut river; and the latter, the heads of two illustrious families in England, who were disgusted by the arbitrary measures of Charles the first, had taken possession, by building a fort; which, from their united names, they called Say Brook. By degrees, however, the Massachusetts' adventurers were freed from both these competitors. The Dutch were themselves soon expelled from the adjoining district; the others assigned to the colony whatever title was derived from a first possession; and, at a subsequent period, it was incorporated by royal charter.

One of the most remarkable laws in the infancy of Connecticut, was aimed against the use of tobacco. A similar denunciation was fulminated in Massachusetts. It enacted, that no person under the age of twenty, nor any other not already habituated to it, should use it, until he had brought a certificate from a physician, stating that it was necessary for his health, and had, in consequence, received a license from the court. Those who had already addicted themselves to this obnoxious weed, were prohibited from using it in any company, at their labour, or on their travels, unless they were at least ten miles from a house; and, then, only once a day, under a penalty of six-pence for each offence: of which, the constables were directed to give information to the district court. The Connecticut settlers treated the Quakers with little less severity than their Massachusetts brethren. For the fourth breach of the law framed against them, the offender was to be imprisoned, kept to hard labour, and his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron.

The next province that demands attention is New Hampshire. Under the authority of a grant from the council of New Plymouth, sir Ferdinando Gorges and captain John Mason, in conjunction with several merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Shrewsbury, and Dover, attempted the establishment of a colony and fishery at the river Piscataqua. For this purpose, in the spring of the year 1623, they sent over David Thompson, a Scot, Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers of London, and a number of people, furnished with the requisite supplies. They were in two parties. One landed at a place which they called Little Harbour; where they built a house, afterwards named Mason Hall. The other went farther, and settled at a place since called Dover. But the funds of

this company were inadequate to the undertaking. Nor did the people, to whom they intrusted the establishment, possess that enthusiasm which animated their neighbours of Massachusetts with vigour to struggle through the hardships attending an infant colony. It is probable, therefore, that they must have abandoned their design, had not the same motives which caused the migrations into Rhode Island and Connecticut, assisted in the advancement of New Hampshire. Mr. Wheelright, a clergyman of some note, having, for his opposition to the church government, been banished from Massachusetts, took a route opposite to that of the other exiles, and founded the town of Exeter, on a small river that flows into Piscataqua bay. For a long time, the parent colony claimed jurisdiction over New Hampshire; and the first reduction of its constitution into a regular form was subsequent to the English revolution.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, New Hampshire received considerable increase, by an emigration of above one hundred families from the north of Ireland; chiefly Presbyterians of Derry, accompanied by their ministers. These industrious people introduced the manufacture of linen, and excited much curiosity by their spinning-wheels; as the species which they brought over, being set in motion by the foot, was a novelty amongst the colonists. They also taught the cultivation of the potatoe; a vegetable well known to have been carried to Ireland from Mexico, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The first attempt to colonize the District (now State) of Maine, was made in 1607, on the west side of the Kennebec, near the sea; but no permanent settlement was then effected. In 1635, Gorges obtained a grant of this territory, and in four years afterwards, a royal charter; under the authority of which, he appointed a governor and council. Upon his death, the people unanimously combined, and formed a constitution, on a more liberal and extended basis: by which they were governed until 1652, when they submitted to Massachusetts, which claimed the soil and jurisdiction of the province, as far as the middle of Casco bay; and Maine took the name of Yorkshire; having liberty to send deputies to the general court of Boston.

By extending their settlements, the English became exposed to serious danger. The Indians around Massachusetts Bay, being feeble and unwarlike, and having received from the early settlers what they deemed an equivalent for their lands, gave no indications of hostility: but Providence and



Connecticut had to contend with nations more numerous and powerful. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets and the Pequods. The latter could bring into the field a thousand warriors; not inferior, in discipline and courage, to any Indians in America. Foreseeing that the extermination of their entire race must be the consequence of permitting Europeans to spread over the continent, they applied to the Naragansets; requesting them to forget their mutual animosities for a season, and co-operate in expelling a common enemy. But the latter, with a refinement in policy, similar to that which deluges with blood the numerous countries of the Christian world, perceived, in this, a favourable opportunity of weakening, if not of totally destroying, an ancient rival: instead, therefore, of acceding to this prudent offer, they discovered the hostile intention of their neighbours to the governor of Massachusetts, and entered into an alliance with the English against them.

1637 More exasperated than discouraged by this treachery, the Pequods took the field, plundered and burned remote settlements, and attacked fort Say Brook; from which, when driven off, they retired to places deemed inaccessible to an invading enemy. The troops of Connecticut were soon assembled, and ready for the field: but the march of those from Massachusetts was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a modern army; reminding us of the superstitious Spartans, who, when solicited to join the Athenians in opposing the arms of Persia on the plains of Marathon, made answer, that it was an established law with them, not to begin a march before the full moon. When mustered, it being found that some of the officers and many of the private soldiers were "under a covenant of works," it was declared, that a blessing could neither be implored nor expected to accompany the arms of such unhallowed men. The alarm became general; and many arrangements were necessary, to cast out the unclean, and render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained so high ideas of their own sanctity and importance.

Not waiting for their puerile allies, the Connecticut troops, with the Naragansets, commanded by captain Mason, advanced against the enemy; who had posted themselves in the middle of a swamp, near the head of the river Mystic, and surrounded their camp with palisades. But they displayed more prudence in choosing their situation, than

in guarding it from surprise. Their assailants reached the paling unperceived, and if a dog had not given the alarm, the Indians must have been massacred whilst asleep. In a moment, the warriors were in arms, and, raising the war-cry, prepared to repel this formidable attack. Notwithstanding, however, that, like the defenders of the Roman capitol, they had been summoned by an instinctive guardian, they were not equally successful in overthrowing their invaders. A dreadful carnage ensued. Entering hastily by two winding passages, which had been left open, the English directed their guns towards the floors of the little huts, that were covered with their inhabitants asleep. Roused from their dreams by the unremitting discharges of musketry, if they came forth, they rushed against the surrounding swords; if they reached the palisades, and attempted to climb over, they were met by a shower of balls. Their crowded dwellings were soon in flames: many, afraid to venture out, remained in the devouring fire; others, who had recoiled from the deadly weapons, rushed amidst the blaze, and shared their fate. In a few minutes, "five or six hundred lay gasping in their blood, or were silent in the arms of death." "The darkness of the forest," observes a New England author, "the blaze of the dwellings, the ghastly looks of the dead, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the women and children, the yells of the friendly savages, presented a scene of sublimity and terror, indescribably dreadful." The spirit of extermination was not satiated here. The Massachusetts' troops, under captain Stoughton, at length arrived, and in a few months the Pequods ceased to be a nation. Their very name was heard no more. Those who had been taken alive were sold as slaves, abroad, or reduced to servitude at home.

1643 The dangers to which the New England colonies were exposed, from domestic and foreign enemies, induced them to form an alliance, for their defence. This confederation included all except Rhode Island, which Massachusetts was unwilling to admit; and was regulated by stated assemblies, continued, with little alteration, until their charters were annulled by James the second.

Whilst the settlers were lessening the number of the ancient inhabitants, they were daily receiving an addition to their own. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the British government to check the tide of emigration, the measures of the crown were so hostile to the public rights, that, in the course of the year 1638, about three thousand persons

embarked for New England; choosing rather to bear all the consequences of a royal mandate, than remain longer under oppression. But, on the assumption of the supreme power by the parliament, those motives to emigrate entirely ceased. The Puritanical maxims, with respect to the government of the church and state, became predominant in England, and were enforced by the hand of power. Up to this period, twenty-one thousand British subjects had settled in New England; but the number of people with which it afterwards recruited the parent country, is supposed, to equal the amount previously received. Some returns also for the expenses incurred by its planters were now made: they began to extend the fishery, to export corn and lumber to the West Indies; which, with the produce of the first, have since grown to be their staple articles of commerce. At length, a decided indication of increasing importance was displayed. In the year 1652, the general court of Massachusetts ordered a coinage of silver money at Boston, stamped with the name of the colony, and with a tree, as an appropriate symbol of progressive vigour. No other colony ever presumed to coin money. But the royal government in England was recently overthrown. The mint-master, John Hull, made a large fortune. It was commonly reported, that he gave his daughter a marriage portion of thirty thousand New England shillings.

Although these children of the forest thus approached the condition of their parent, in the external relations of society; in wealth, in commerce, in population; they seemed to make an opposite movement in rectitude of judgment: the absence of which produced bigotry, superstition, intolerance, and cruelty. That persecuting spirit which consigned its victims to the flames, having spent its rage in almost every European nation, and been, in England, long since exhausted, or restrained by a superior power, now burst forth from those bosoms which had indignantly recoiled from its effects. We here allude to the treatment of the Quakers. A number of these people,

1656 having arrived from England and Barbadoes, and given offence to the clergy of the established church, by the novelty of their religion, at that time, certainly a little extravagant, were imprisoned, and, by the first opportunity, sent away. A law was then made, which prohibited masters of ships from bringing any Quakers into Massachusetts, and themselves from coming there; under a graduat-



ed penalty, rising, in case of a return from banishment, as high as death. In consequence of this barbarous proscription, several were hanged; a mode of punishment not adopted on account of its being more ignominious than that of burning, practised in Europe, but perhaps to avoid a too strict conformity with the usage of their ancient enemies.\* These proceedings are still the more reprehensible and remarkable, when contrasted with a previous declaration of their government, which tendered "hospitality and succour to all Christian strangers, flying from wars, famine, or the tyranny of persecution."

But this sanguinary conduct was soon prohibited, by an order from Charles the second. During its continuance, the number of Quakers in Massachusetts increased, instead of being diminished. The pillory served, there, as a pulpit for the celebrated George Fox, the founder of the sect.

The Anabaptists were the next object of persecution. Many of them were disfranchised, and some were banished. But, as oppression again created what it was intended to destroy, the court judged it expedient to withdraw it, and persecution for a while ceased.

Why, it may be asked, are these early scenes of folly recoloured, and exhibited on the stage of history, in this remote age? Are they meant to calumniate the fathers of our people, and augment the inclination towards religious intolerance; to wound the feelings of our youth, and create, anew, the malignant spirit of recrimination? No, it is answered; they are to guard against a repetition; by reminding society, that the same causes will produce similar effects, in every nation, and in every age; and that the same ascendancy over the civil authorities, which then prevailed, might plunge us, even at this enlightened period, into that unhappy state, now contemplated with so much regret.—A great American statesman and profound philosopher, in acknowledging the receipt of a discourse on the consecration

\* The following Quakers were hanged, for returning after banishment: William Robinson, and Marmaduke Stephenson, on the 27th of October, 1656; William Ledlea, on the 14th of March, 1660; Mary Dyer, on the 1st of June.

Toleration was preached against, as a sin in rulers, that would bring down the judgment of Heaven upon the land. Mr. Dudley died with a copy of verses in his pocket, of which the two following lines make a part.

"Let men of God, in court and churches, watch,  
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

of a synagogue, expresses himself in these words: "Your sect, by its sufferings, has furnished a remarkable proof of the universal spirit of religious intolerance, inherent in *every* sect; disclaimed by all while feeble, and practised by all when in power. Our laws have applied the only antidote to this vice; protecting our religious, as they do our civil, rights, by placing all on an equal footing. But, more remains to be done; for, though we are free by the law, we are not so in practice: public opinion erects itself into an inquisition, and exercises its office with as much fanaticism as fans the flames of an *auto de fe*.\*

On the accession of James the second, several of the New England colonies were deprived of their charters; which, however, with various modifications, were restored after the ensuing revolution. But, that was not the only evil arising from the contests of this period. France, being engaged in war with the parent state, thought the opportunity favourable for disturbing her American dominions: and, from the contiguity of Canada, where the former was then established, was enabled to keep the northern provinces in continual alarm. Vigorous exertions were made to carry hostilities into the colony of the aggressor. The command was given to sir William Phipps, a distinguished character of those days, and the first governor appointed under the new charter. His earliest object was the conquest of L'Acadie, now called Nova Scotia. Having sailed from New England with a force of seven hundred men, he arrived at Port Royal, and took possession of the entire province for Great Britain. But his next attempt was wholly unsuccessful. Proceeding with a much larger equipment, and arriving before Quebec, the winter was so far advanced, that the troops from Connecticut and New-York returned, after they had reached the lakes: and his own troops being sickly and discouraged, he relinquished his intentions; sailing again to Boston, with the loss of one thousand men.

The new charter, whilst it curtailed the liberties, extended the territory, of Massachusetts. To it, were now annexed, New Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia, with all the country between the two latter and the river St. Lawrence: also Elizabeth Islands, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard. The people, however, had reason to complain: they no

\* Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Noah, of New-York, dated Montecello, May 28, 1818.

longer chose their governor, secretary, nor officers of the admiralty: the militia was placed under the control of the governor, and the same officer levied taxes and tried capital offenders. Against these innovations, however, an admirable spirit was evinced, in the very first act passed under the new constitution. It was resolved, that no loan or imposition of any kind, should be raised in the colony, unless with the approbation of the council and the representatives of the people, assembled in general court.

“Sir William Phipps,” observes a New England historian, “found the province in a most deplorable situation. An Indian war was wasting the frontiers; an agitation, a terror in the public mind, in the greater part of Essex county, was driving the people to the most desperate conduct. In the tempest of passion, a government of laws, trial by jury, all the guards against oppression, were too feeble to protect the person or property of the most loyal subject. The pillars of society were shaken to their foundation, by the amazing powers of imaginary witchcraft. The people of that county had lived amongst the Indians; they had heard their narratives of Hobbamocko, or the Devil; of his frequent appearances to them, of his conversations with them, and of his sometimes carrying them off. These were the familiar tales of their winter evenings; which confirmed their opinions, laid the basis of superstition, and furnished materials for approaching terrors. The circumstances attending the first strange accounts were most unfortunate, and powerfully tended to give them currency. They appeared in the family of their minister: he was credulous; this excited belief in others. An Indian and his wife were in the house: they were supposed adepts in the science of witchcraft; their opinions were important: to complete the misery, the physician joined his suffrage; the evidence now in the public mind was conclusive. It is no wonder, that the alarm was sudden and terrible. Children, not twelve years old, were allowed to give their testimony. Indians related their own personal knowledge of invisible beings, and women told their frights. The testimonies then received, would now be considered a burlesque on judicial proceedings. One circumstance, however, deserves to be noticed. The persons accused had generally, if not universally, done some singular or forbidden action; were mostly in the lower walks of life, and their misfortunes or accidents, of thirty years standing, were now arrayed as fatal charges against them. The frenzy was greatest from



March to October, 1692. In the beginning of this period of delirium, fasts were held at the ministers' houses; afterwards, in several congregations in the infected neighbourhood; and, finally, the general court appointed a fast throughout the colony."

A very learned pastor of New England, Cotton Mather, was a firm believer in all those ridiculous stories. He relates, with a degree of seriousness that is now amusing, as many supernatural events, as would fill a volume; prefacing his ghostly narrative with a regret, that "the neighbours have not been careful enough to record and attest the prodigious occurrences of this importance, and that many true and strange occurrences from the invisible world, have been buried in oblivion." He first mentions a woman afflicted by a devil, that spoke Dutch; after which, he proceeds to a more entertaining narrative, which is here given in his own words.—"In the year 1679, the house of William Morse, at Newberry, was infested with demons, after a most horrid manner. It would fill many pages, to relate all the infestations; but the chief of them were such as these:—Bricks, sticks, and stones, were often, by some invisible hand, thrown at the house, and so were many pieces of wood: a cat was thrown at the woman of the house, and a long staff danced up and down in the chimney; and afterwards the same long staff was hanged by a line, and swung to and fro; and, when two persons laid it on the fire, to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do, with their joint strength, to hold it there. An iron crook was violently, by an invisible hand, hurled about; and a chair flew about the room, until, at last, it lit upon the table, where the meat stood ready to be eaten; and had spoiled all, if the people had not, with much ado, saved a little. A chest was, by an invisible hand, carried from one place to another, and the doors barricadoed, and the keys of the family taken, some of them from the bunch where they were tied, and the rest flying about with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. For, one while, the folks of the house could not sup quietly, but ashes would be thrown into their suppers, and on their heads, and their clothes, and the shoes of the man being left below, one of them was filled with ashes and coals, and thrown up after him. When they were in bed, a stone, weighing three pounds, was, divers times, thrown upon them. A box and a board were likewise thrown upon them; and a bag of hops being taken out of a chest, they were, by the invisible

hand, beaten therewith, till some of the hops were scattered on the floor, where the bag was then laid and left. The man was often struck by that hand with several instruments: and the same hand cast their good things into the fire: yea, while the man was at prayer with his household, a besom gave him a blow on his head behind, and fell down before his face. When they were winnowing their barley, dirt was thrown at them; and assaying to fill their half-bushel with corn, the foul corn would be thrown in with the clean, so irresistibly, that they were forced thereby to give over what they were about.

“ While the man was writing, his ink-horn was, by the invisible hand, snatched from him, and being able nowhere to find it, he saw it drop out of the air, down by the fire. A shoe was laid on his shoulder, but when he would have caught it, it was rapt from him: it was then clapped upon his head, and there he held it so fast, that the unseen fury pulled him with it backward on the floor. He had his cap torn off his head, and was pulled by the hair, and pinched and scratched. and the invisible hand pricked him with some of his awls, and with needles, and bodkins; and blows, that fetched blood, were sometimes given him. Frozen clods were often thrown at the man; and his wife going to milk the cows, they could by no means preserve the vessels of milk from the like annoyances, which made it fit only for the hogs.

“ She, going down into the cellar, the trap-door was immediately, by an invisible hand, shut upon her, and a table brought and laid upon the door, which kept her there till the man removed it. When he was writing, at another time, a dish leapt into a pail, and cast water on the man, and on all the concerns before him, so as to defeat what he was then upon. His cap jumped off his head, and on again, and the pot-lid went off the pot into the kettle, then over the fire together. A little boy belonging to the family was a principal sufferer by these molestations; for, he was flung about at such a rate, that they feared his brains would have been beaten out: nor did they find it possible to hold him. The man took him, to keep him in a chair; but the chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the fire.

“ These and a thousand such vexations befalling the boy at home, they carried him to live abroad at a doctor's. There, he was quiet; but, returning home, he suddenly cried out ‘he was pricked on the back;’ where they found

strangely sticking, a three-tined fork, which belonged unto the doctor, and had been seen at his house after the boy's departure. Afterwards, his troubles found him out at the doctor's also; where, crying again 'he was pricked on the back,' they found an iron spindle stuck into him; and the spectre would make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and instead thereof make him fall to eating ashes, sticks, and yarn."

Twenty persons, men and women, having been executed, the supposed sufferers, by their alleged enchantments, became more daring, and accused some of the best people in the country. Suspicion was now aroused; condemnation ceased; the accusers were silent; those under sentence were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

Seldom, does the historic page offer to the biographer a character more strongly marked than that of Phipps; of whose life, a cursory sketch may be found both instructive and entertaining. He was born at a small plantation on the river Kennebeck; his father was a gun-smith, formerly of Bristol, in England. His mother had twenty-six children, twenty-one of whom were sons. William, one of the youngest, remained with her when a widow, tending sheep, until arrived at the age of eighteen. Actuated now by a powerful impulse, he conceived that he was born to fill a more important part in the drama of human life, resisted the desire of his friends that he would become a planter, and, as the first step towards attaining his imagined elevation, bound himself apprentice to a ship-carpenter. In this profession, he shortly became an adept. Having removed to Boston, he there followed his trade for about a year, and, by his good conduct, obtained in marriage the daughter of captain Spencer, a respectable citizen. Notwithstanding a severe disappointment and loss which soon afterwards befel him, he was still buoyed up by his early expectation of advancement: he frequently told his wife, that he should yet be captain of a king's ship, and have the command of better men than he accounted himself. But he did not vainly imagine, that riches would reward him in indolence, or that honours would pursue him in retirement. He felt that he possessed the vigour to attain what his ambition so eagerly desired; and that his prophecies might be fulfilled, by wisdom and prudence in the design, and patience and diligence in the pursuit. Upon hearing of a Spanish wreck at the Bahama islands, he made a voyage thither, to search for treasure; but with no greater success than just enabled him



to visit England. His object in this, was to procure the means of examining another, and far richer, Spanish wreck; and, so forcible were his representations to the government, that, in 1683, he was appointed "captain of a king's ship," as he had prognosticated; in which vessel, a frigate of eighteen guns, this enterprising American arrived in his native country.

Many years were spent in fruitless endeavours to ascertain the position of the wreck; many dangers surmounted, with a degree of patience and presence of mind, fortitude and courage, scarcely surpassed by any hero, either of ancient or modern times. A few examples will be sufficient to establish the justice of our remarks. His men, wearied by their ineffectual endeavours, having mutinied, approached him on the quarter-deck with drawn swords, and required that he should join them in running away with the ship, for the purpose of carrying on the trade of piracy in the Southern ocean. But their brave commander was neither intimidated by their number, nor alarmed by their ferocity. Unarmed, unaided, unprepared, he rushed with heroic boldness upon the crowd, and, by the mere vigour of his blows, defeated his antagonists, and compelled them to their duty. At another time, whilst his frigate lay careening in a desolate island, by the side of a rock, from which was laid a plank reaching to the shore, his men, of whom he had about one hundred, went all, except eight or ten, to amuse themselves, as they pretended, in the woods. Here, another conspiracy was formed. They determined, that in the evening they would seize their captain and the few faithful seamen who had remained on board, leave them to perish on the island, and sail with the ship, to perpetrate the robberies which they had planned before. Informed of their intentions, and assured of the fidelity of the others, he prepared immediately to guard his vessel against surprise, and reduce the mutineers to obedience. Owing to the inclined posture of the frigate, all the provisions had been, through necessity, carried on shore; where they were placed in a tent, and secured by cannon from the possibility of an attack by the Spaniards. These, he silently ordered to be unloaded, and turned towards the interior; then, pulling up the bridge, he brought his own guns to bear on every part of the tent, and signified his intention of abandoning his atrocious crew to the fate which they had prepared for him. Terrified now by the apprehension of immediate destruction from the guns, or, at the less instant-

aneous, though more dreadful, death, from the want of food, they quickly brought the stores on board; and, having, on their knees, with eager supplications, displayed that cowardice which is the prominent feature of the assassin, they submitted to his orders. But Phipps would no longer intrust his person, nor seek to accomplish his design, with such a crew. He sailed to Jamaica, and discharged them. When arrived at Hispaniola, and informed, by a very old man, that the object of his desire was certainly upon a reef of shoals a few leagues from Port de la Plata, he sailed again for England; where, by the aid of the duke of Albemarle, and other persons of distinction, who became partners in his adventure, he prepared the necessary implements, and, with the most sanguine hopes, departed for the wreck. His perseverance was at length rewarded by success: an Indian diver led him to the long-lost treasure. Besides a large quantity of silver, brought up by a person named Adderly, of Providence, our hero recovered thirty-two tons; which, with some gold and jewels, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds sterling. So generous, however, was he to his men, and so faithful to his partners, that only sixteen thousand were left to himself. But he received marks of distinction from his sovereign, which, to his noble mind, were more valuable than riches. He was honoured, then, with the title of knighthood; and, for his general deportment, afterwards appointed to those stations in which we have already observed him,—commander-in-chief and governor of the colony.

His family has since been ennobled by the king of England. Captain Phipps, a distinguished British navigator, is descended from the persevering American; and now bears the title of lord Mulgrave.

In the years 1627 and '38, '63, and '70, New England experienced violent earthquakes; which produced serious alarm, but no real injury, to the inhabitants. In 1638, Harvard college, near Boston, the oldest seminary of learning in the United States, was founded. Two years before, the general court having voted four hundred pounds for the establishment of a public school, at Newtown, that sum was more than doubled by a bequest from Mr. John Harvard, a highly esteemed minister of Charlestown: who, in his will, left to the infant seminary half his entire estate. Thus endowed, the school was formed into a college; receiving, in memory of its benefactor, the name of Harvard; and Newtown, through respect to the university in England.

where many of the original emigrants had been educated, was called Cambridge. The first Commencement was held two years afterwards; when nine students were honoured with the degree of bachelor of arts. The first master of the college, was Nathaniel Eaton; a good scholar, but without the other requisites for the instruction and government of youth. He was displaced for avarice, in withholding necessary commons; and for cruelty, in beating his usher with a cudgel, whilst two of his servants held him by the legs and arms.—This is the most richly endowed of all the American colleges. It has thirteen professors; and affords a wider range of liberal instruction than any other in the United States.

Some years from that period, a building was erected there for an Indian college; into which, several natives entered: but only one attained academical honours, before death, and other events, disorganized an institution so truly benevolent. But the generous designs entertained towards the improvement of that people, did not rest here. As a farther compensation for the injury suffered by them, from the encroachment on their lands, and consequent diminution of the means of supporting life, Mr. Elliot, a pious clergyman of Roxbury, translated the Bible into their own language, and had it printed at the expense of a society established for the spreading of the Christian religion. Besides, he composed for them a primer, a grammar, and a book of psalms, with several other useful works; and was the means of opening schools in the Indian settlements, where the children were instructed, not only in their own language, but in the English, Greek, and Latin. Judicial courts were established amongst them, on the same principles as the county courts of the colony; in which, one English lawyer was united with the judges appointed by the natives.

But, let us inquire, what were the fruits of those institutions, so liberally gifted, and planned with wisdom apparently so profound? Have the seeds, thus industriously sown, and assiduously cherished, yielded a harvest commensurate with the care devoted to their culture? Or, have they perished in a barren soil? Has the mode of cultivation been erroneous, the atmosphere injurious to increasing vigour? The soil, we believe, was generous: but there was a want of skill in the labourer; a destructive tendency in the climate. The Indian was overwhelmed with a multitude of doctrines, no less mysterious to the teacher, than incomprehensible to the pupil. The conduct of his patrons,



towards their own brethren, offered an example at variance with their precepts; rendering him indifferent to their protection, and careless of a religion, that had not subdued in themselves those passions which they now sought to restrain in others. Would he not exclaim, as did the simple Mexican, "Are any of these people in that Heaven to which we are invited? If there are, we desire not to follow!" Nor could he, though Virtue herself were to tender him salvation through a distorted creed, of which more than eighty opinions had been rejected by a Christian, receive it with sincerity: he might profess it for a season; but he would repay the labour of his ephemeral conversion in the accustomed deceptions of hypocrisy.

The third provincial seminary of letters, was established at New Haven, in Connecticut, in 1701; ten years after that of William and Mary in Virginia. It was called Yale college, in honour of one of its principal benefactors; and intended chiefly for training up young men to the duties of the church. Dartmouth college, also, situated at Hanover, in New Hampshire, is a respectable institution. It was founded in 1769, and named after the earl of Dartmouth, one of its most liberal promoters.

The first printing press established in the British colonies, was in 1639, at Cambridge, superintended by Stephen Daye; but erected chiefly at the expense of Mr. Glover, an English clergyman, who died on his passage to America.

The first newspaper printed in the British colonies, was the Boston News Letter; in 1704. It was printed weekly, by Nathaniel Greene, for the proprietor, John Campbell, postmaster of Boston. No other paper was required, until 1719, a period of fifteen years; when William Brooker, then at the head of the post-office, published the Boston Gazette, and employed, as printer, James Franklin; an elder brother of the celebrated Benjamin Franklin. In 1721, James began the publication of another journal, the New England Courant. Its patrons formed themselves into a club, and furnished it with short, original essays, in imitation of the Spectator; which soon brought the Courant into notice. It was warmly opposed by the rigid puritans; whilst it was, with equal ardour, supported by men of more liberal opinions. But the press was then, as it had been during more than fifty years, in Massachusetts, under a rigorous censorship. Nothing could, with impunity, be published, unless pleasing to the colonial government. Franklin was soon imprisoned, and ordered to discontinue

his paper, unless he would submit it to a previous supervision: but, not inclining to yield submission, he conducted it, for some years, in the name of Benjamin; who had been one of its ablest contributors.

In about seventeen years after the first emigration to New England, negroes were imported there, as a regular branch of traffic with the West Indies. The number brought into the northern colonies, was small, in comparison with that into the southern; a circumstance which we may attribute to the difference of climate: as, it appears natural, that the same people who assented to the principles of a trade, would have felt no repugnance to its extension, had it been demanded by their immediate interest. It is only just, however, in reflecting on this conduct of the early settlers, to make a large allowance, in extenuation of that practice. The rights of man, as regarded either his civil or religious liberty, were not, in those days, fully understood: nor the mental faculties of the sable African properly examined and acknowledged.

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## CHAPTER V.

*Settlement of Maryland; of North and South Carolina; New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Georgia William Penn.*

MARYLAND was founded by sir George Calvert, baron of Baltimore in Ireland; a Roman Catholic nobleman, born in England. Inclined to form a settlement in America, as an asylum for himself and his friends, he went over to Virginia; but, meeting an unwelcome reception on account of his religion, and observing that the inhabitants had not extended their plantations beyond the Potomac, he fixed his attention on lands northward of this river, and when he returned to England, obtained a grant of them from Charles the first. But he did not survive the completion of the patent. After his death, however, it was given to his eldest son, Cecilius; who succeeded to his titles; the country being called Maryland, in compliment to the queen, Henrietta Maria.

The religious toleration established by that charter, the first draft of which was written, it is said, by sir George

himself, is highly honourable to his memory, and was strictly respected by his son.

Leonard Calvert, the first governor of Maryland, was the brother of Cecilius; who sent him to America at the head of the colony in 1633. Having sailed up the Potomac, he anchored near an island, which he named St. Clements; and there took formal possession of the country, in the name of his sovereign. Thence, he went fifteen leagues higher, to an Indian town on the Virginia side of the river, now called New Marlborough; where he was received in a friendly manner by the natives. He next sailed to Piscataway, on the Maryland shore, and had an interview with the chieftain. "Are you willing," said that lover of justice, "that a settlement should be made in your country?"—"I will not bid you go," replied the chief, "neither will I bid you stay: you may use your own discretion."—This, however, was not thought a sufficient warrant for remaining. He visited a creek on the northern side of the river, about four miles from its mouth, where was an Indian village; which he purchased from the natives, called it St. Mary's, and the creek St. George's, and granted to each emigrant fifty acres of land. In 1694, the town of Severn, was made a port of trade, and received the name of Annapolis; and, five years afterwards, the legislature removed thither, from St. Mary's; since which time, Annapolis has been the seat of government.

Whilst Virginia harassed all who dissented from the English church, and the northern colonies all who dissented from the Puritan, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, a sect, who, in the old world, never even professed the doctrine of toleration, received and protected their Christian brethren of every church, and its population rapidly increased. But this enlightened spirit was, in the course of time, controlled. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, power, in this province, fell into other hands, and laws were enacted, equally severe with those of Virginia and New England, against the profession of any religious sentiments not according with the principal tenets of the Church of England.

The next province that claims our attention is North Carolina. Though, by the unhappy termination of the colony of Roanoke, and the subsequent deviation which caused the discovery of the Chesapeake, this lost the honour of being the earliest state; yet the Union is indebted to those events for a more propitious commencement, and a more rapid approximation to maturity and strength. Of all the



colonial family, none, we believe, is less gifted than North Carolina with the means of supporting a numerous offspring. A generous soil, a wide diffusion of navigable streams, a salubrious air; every thing which ministers to the wealth, or to the happiness, of man; seem here denied.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, some emigrants, chiefly from Virginia, began a settlement in the county of Albemarle: and soon afterwards, another establishment was made at Cape Fear, by adventurers from Massachusetts; who obtained a transfer of the lands from the ancient owners of the soil. They were held together by the laws of nature, without any written code, without the least degree of constitutional restraint. But they did not long remain in this extraordinary situation. The country being claimed by England, was made subservient to the interest of the ruling monarch. Charles the second granted to lord Clarendon and others, the whole tract lying between the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. The proprietors, anxious to hasten the improvement of their extensive regions, offered every inducement to immigration. They established a free government, a perfect freedom in religion, and, for the first five years, offered certain portions of land at one halfpenny per acre.

The settlers in Albemarle were placed under the superintendence of sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia; who, having repaired thither, after appointing civil officers, and directing the calling of a general assembly, assigned his authority to Mr. Drummond.

In 1671, the proprietors extended their settlements to the banks of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where Charleston now stands; and, in 1729, having, for a sum of money, surrendered to the crown their interest in the soil, the colony was divided into North and South Carolina, and a royal governor appointed over each.

The exports of the latter colony, during the first twenty-five years, were lumber, peltry, and naval stores. In 1700, the growth of cotton was introduced. Two years afterwards, governor Landgrave Smith received a small bag of rice out of a vessel from Madagascar; which, being distributed amongst the planters, for seed, this highly nutritive grain became the prominent staple: and, about the year 1748, there was added indigo; the manufacture of which was taught by Miss Lucas. In the character of these two productions of Carolina, there is a wide dissimilarity; the

rice being as remarkable for the excellence, as the indigo is for the inferiority, of its quality. The indigo, as well as the sumac-plant, grows spontaneously, not only in this state, but in almost every portion of the American continent: the collecting of the sumac, however, for a foreign market, seems confined to a trifling attention in some of the New England states; though the consumption in Europe, of this indispensable article in dying, is very large, chiefly of Sicilian growth.

New-York was first settled by the Dutch; by whom it was held for half a century. They founded their claim on prior discovery, by Henry Hudson, a celebrated English navigator, employed by them, in 1609, and on subsequent actual occupation. The English, however, claimed the same country, from its having been first visited by Cabot, above a century before; and because Hudson, under a commission from the king of England, had, so early as the year 1608, discovered Long Island, and Manhattan, the site of the town of New-York, with the river which now bears his name. It is of small importance, at the present day, to inquire whose title was the best. Neither had a just claim upon the property of the native possessors: but, if we be guided by the arbitrary rule of the European powers, in matters of this kind, the dominion must be awarded to Great Britain.

Peter Stuyvesant, the third and last Dutch governor of this colony, began his administration in 1647. Assailed by New England, on the one hand, and by a Swedish colony and Maryland, on the other, this active officer was incessantly employed. He was distinguished as much for his fidelity as for his vigilance. He earnestly stated to his employers, the West India Company of Holland, the embarrassments which he experienced; and the probability of an attack from England: but his representations were unavailing. Meanwhile, a war having commenced between Great Britain and the commonwealth, Charles the second assigned to his brother, the duke of York, all the territory now called New-York and New Jersey, together with a part of Connecticut, and of what has since received the names of Pennsylvania and Delaware; and privately despatched  
1664 an armament to take possession of the colony. Stuyvesant was a brave officer; but, not being supported in his defence by the magistrates, was, with much reluctance, constrained to surrender. In the following month, Fort Orange, on Hudson River, capitulated, and received

the name of Albany, after the second title of the duke. The British arms were equally successful against both the Dutch and Swedes in the south; so that the whole of Nova Belgia was thus subjected to the English crown.

Few, however, of the inhabitants were removed. Governor Stuyvesant retained his estate, and died in the colony. His posterity still survive, and hold a respectable rank among the citizens of the United States. The government was administered, for several years, by colonel Nichols, the officer intrusted with its reduction; and, after him, by colonel Lovelace; under whom, the people lived very happily, until, in 1673, his powers were annulled by the re-surrender of the colony; an event caused by the treachery of one Manning, who had the command of the principal fort. But the Dutch enjoyed their ancient possession only for a short period; in the following year, a treaty of peace restored it to the English.

Being a conquered country, it was governed by the duke's officers, until the year 1688; when representatives of the people were allowed a voice in the legislature. Amongst the governors, we perceive the name of Burnet; who presided from 1720 until 1728: a man not more remarkable on account of his being a son of the celebrated prelate who wrote the history of the Reformation, than for his admirable talents and correct deportment. He was easy and familiar in his manners, and universally esteemed by men of letters.

The duke of York sold that part of his grant now called New Jersey, to lord Berkeley and sir George Carteret. It had previously been settled by Hollanders and Swedes, with a small intermixture of emigrants from Denmark: all of whom remained there, and became English subjects. The county of Bergen was the first inhabited. Here, was erected a small town, of the same name, in which the settlers resided; having their plantations at a distance. Very soon, there were four other towns in the province; Elizabeth, Newark, Middleton, and Shrewsbury; which, and the adjacent country, in a few years received a large accession of inhabitants, from Scotland, England, and the neighbouring colonies.

Though, in reviewing the formation of the new government in Jersey, we perceive no striking features to excite a lively interest in its history, such as are in general the chief materials for inquiry; yet we feel the highest degree of pleasure when contemplating one particular trait—that



no violence was committed on the unoffending natives. In allotting lands to the settlers, Mr. Carteret, the first governor, invariably obliged them to satisfy the Indians. The result of so equitable an order was no less favourable than merited. They became good neighbours; thereby allowing the colonists to direct their whole attention to the arts of peace. Carteret fixed his residence at Elizabethtown; which thus became the earliest capital of the province: but the present seat of government is Trenton.

To dwell on the successive changes which occurred in the proprietorship; its division into East and West Jersey, its mode of government, or the names of its several governors, would be not only tedious, but unessential. Amongst the latter, however, it may be proper to mention the celebrated Barclay, author of the Apology for the Quakers: of which sect, a large number had established themselves there; setting their accustomed example of good order and industry.

A college, originally commenced at Newark, was, in the year 1748, finally established at Princeton. Its chief benefactor was governor Belcher; to whom, an offer was made of associating his name with the institution: but the honour was declined. This seminary is indebted for its origin to the same pious motives that founded the college in Connecticut.

Pennsylvania commands a more than usual share of curiosity; as well on account of the illustrious individual whose name is perpetuated by its title, as its important rank in the present American union.

The founder of this state was William Penn, son of sir William Penn, a distinguished admiral in the British navy, during the protectorate of Cromwell and part of the reign of Charles the second. From principle, and in opposition to all worldly motives, at an early period of his life, he joined the Quakers, when they were an obscure and a persecuted sect. As one of their members, and a preacher, he was repeatedly imprisoned. When brought to trial at the Old Bailey, in London, he pleaded his own cause, with the usual freedom of a Briton, and the boldness of a hero. The jury, at first, brought in a special verdict; which being declared informal by the court, they were menaced, and sent back. Upon this, Penn said to them, "Ye are Englishmen; mind your privilege! give not away your right!" The next morning, they made the same return, were again threatened, and again remanded to their chamber. But,

neither attentive to the instructions, nor fearful of the threats, of a corrupted judge, the jury remained firm to their opinion, and returned a verdict of acquittal. For this, they were severely fined, and, with the accused, imprisoned, until the unjust penalties were paid. Roused by proceedings so atrocious, Penn's feelings and reflections led him to adopt the most liberal ideas of toleration: a love of free inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution, took entire possession of his expanded mind.

He had become, by purchase, a large owner of New Jersey; but, being dissatisfied with his partners, he formed the design of acquiring a separate estate, and accordingly petitioned the king; who, as an acquittance of sixteen thousand  
1681 pounds due to William Penn's father, granted him an extensive tract, which Charles named Pennsylvania, in honour of the admiral. He soon afterwards obtained from the duke of York a conveyance of the town of Newcastle, with all that country which now forms the state of Delaware. The patent provided for the king's sovereignty, and for obedience to British acts regarding commerce, and gave power to call a legislative assembly; as well as to make such laws for the benefit of the province, as should not be repugnant to the laws and rights of England.

The first colony, who were chiefly of his own sect, began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. By these, the proprietor sent a letter to the natives; informing them, that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not wish to enjoy it without their consent: that he was a man of peace; that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and that if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." He also mentioned, that he had appointed commissioners to treat with them, and that he himself would shortly visit them for the same purpose.

1682 Having selected a few confidential companions, this amiable man embarked, in the month of August, with about two thousand emigrants, and, in October, arrived in the Delaware. His reception must have been highly congenial with his feelings. As his ship sailed up the river, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted their new governor with an air of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, (the Casimer of the Swedes, and Niewer Amstel

of the Dutch,) and immediately cultivated the good will of the natives; from whom, he purchased a sufficient quantity of land for the present use of the colony. Besides those sent out by himself, and those who accompanied him, there were, along the right bank of the Delaware, at least three thousand Europeans,—Swedes, Dutch, Finlanders, and English; and, in the course of a year, the settlements extended from Chester to the falls of Trenton.

The first legislative assembly was held at Chester; at that time, called Upland. The Territories, (for, by this title, was distinguished the purchase from the duke of York,) were then annexed to the province; but, afterwards, they were detached, and continued a separate colony, with a distinct assembly, yet under the superintendence of the governor of Pennsylvania. The laws at this period enacted were perfectly consistent with the mild tenor of the founder's professions. In addition to several, tending to encourage industry and repress the exercise of cruelty, it was declared, "that none, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions, or his practice; nor compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatever." To these liberal sentiments and wise regulations, may be attributed the rapid improvement of Pennsylvania, and the spirit of diligence, order, and economy, for which its inhabitants have been so much admired.

Philadelphia, which was begun on the site of the Indian village, Coquanoc, derives its name from a city in Asia Minor, celebrated, in sacred history, for having been the seat of an early Christian church. During the first twelve months after its foundation, about a hundred houses were erected; and, since that period, it has received a continual accession of inhabitants from Ireland and Germany. Penn's residence in America was, at this time, not of long continuance. In 1684 he went to England, with the humane intention of soliciting a relaxation of the penal statutes against the Quakers, and all other dissenters from the church of England. In November, 1699, he returned, accompanied by his family; at a period when a malignant fever had just ceased in Philadelphia, after carrying off two hundred persons. The number of houses in the city was then seven hundred: the inhabitants were about four thousand. But his residence was again only temporary, and much shorter than the interest of the colony required. After remaining about two years, his presence was necessary in England, to



remonstrate against a design of the British government to deprive the several colonies of their charters, as well as to adjust disputed boundaries between himself and lord Baltimore.

The humanity of William Penn's disposition, whilst it embraced the most extended range, did not neglect the minutest object. His biographers have recorded many pleasing occurrences. In a journey through the province as an assiduous minister of his simple church, amongst the places he visited was Haverford. He was on horseback, and, overtaking a little girl, who was walking to attend the meeting at that place, with his usual good nature, he desired her to get up behind him; and, drawing near to a convenient place, she mounted, and thus rode away; her bare legs dangling by the side of the governor's horse.

Though Penn was a wise and good man, and the people whom he led to Pennsylvania were in general orderly and well disposed, yet there existed almost constant bickerings. He changed the form of government three times, and each change was apparently an improvement, and increased the satisfaction of the inhabitants; yet, there seldom was an harmonious feeling between the people and the governor. From the opposition he had to encounter in England, and the difficulties in Pennsylvania, his life was a continued scene of vexation. His private fortune was materially injured by his advances to promote the infant settlement, particularly to preserve the friendship of the Indians; and, after being harassed by his creditors, he was obliged to undergo a temporary deprivation of his personal liberty. But, though during his life, he was necessitous, on its termination he was wealthy. Having reached his seventy-fifth year, he died at London, in 1718; leaving an inheritance to his children, ultimately of immense value: which they enjoyed until the Revolution, when it was assigned to the commonwealth for an equitable sum in money.

The first seventy years, including the period in which the Quaker principles ruled the colonial legislature, has been termed the golden age of Pennsylvania. No instance had occurred of the Indians killing unarmed people, unless they appeared to have connexion with others that were armed. This displays a striking contrast with the early and long continued wars maintained against the natives in New England; and confirms our previous assertion, that the Europeans were in that quarter the aggressors.

In the last years of the seventeenth, and the first of the eighteenth century, during the destructive warfare between England and France, the defence of New-York, which borders on Canada, being considered as both the duty and interest of the other provinces, Pennsylvania was called on for her proportion of men and money. But the assembly, composed almost wholly of Quakers, firm to their principles, would neither pass laws for the enrolling of militia, nor do any other act which bore a military aspect. The necessity at length was extreme, and the danger hourly increasing. Assistance was most urgently demanded. But, as hitherto, the noise of distant warfare was ineffectual, an attempt was made to produce the terrors of actual invasion, by a stratagem. Evans, the governor, spread over the country an alarm, on the foundation of false intelligence, that a number of hostile vessels had entered the Delaware bay, and advanced a considerable way towards its head. As the governor held the Quaker doctrine of non-resistance in contempt, he believed they would not stand a serious trial; and, on the receipt of this intelligence, which came from Newcastle by a preconcerted express, he rode through the streets of Philadelphia, with a drawn sword in his hand, apparently in much emotion, commanding and urging all to come forward and defend the city. For a while, several believed the report; and, accordingly, concealed their property, or removed with their families and effects out of the reach of immediate danger. But no indication of the Quakers' arming was given, and, before the close of the day, the imposition being discovered, the governor and his friends were insulted as the authors of a studied deception.

Shortly afterwards, there was practised a more innocent stratagem; by which, Pennsylvania was relieved from an illiberal demand of the Territorial government; a duty, payable in powder, on all vessels not owned by residents, when passing the fort at Newcastle. Against this exaction, the state had often remonstrated in vain. However, a few Quakers, amongst whom was Richard Hill, adopted a novel mode of defeating this claim, and without violating their pacific principles. Hill had a vessel ready for sea; but, doubting the resolution of his captain to pass the fort without a permit, he himself went in her down the river; and, a little before arriving abreast of the fort, dropped anchor, went ashore, and used many arguments to obtain a free passage for his ship. His reasoning, however, was ineffectual. There was no relief except by stratagem. He there-

fore returned to his vessel, stood to the helm himself, and, passing the fort, received its fire unhurt. The commander, in an armed boat, pursued. On his approach, Hill threw out a rope, and brought him on board. The rope was instantly cut. The boat fell astern. The commander was conducted peaceably to the cabin; whilst the vessel, with her new passenger, pursued her voyage; soon after which determined conduct, the demand of powder was relinquished.

In the interval between 1730 and the period when this history will relinquish the distinct colonial proceedings, to conduct the narrative of a sublime and awful period, when individual interests combine and move forward with a unity of action, there was an annual influx of emigrants. These were principally from Germany and Ireland. They settled in the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland; Northampton, Berks, Bedford, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. The Irish and German people, at an early day, brought the useful arts and manufactures into Pennsylvania. To the former, she is indebted for the spinning and weaving of linen and woollen cloth; to the latter, for various trades of indispensable utility to agriculture and society at large. Of all nations who have settled in America, the Germans have availed themselves the least of the unjust and demoralizing aid of slavery; a circumstance the more remarkable, as the governments under which they had been educated were almost invariably despotic. The Irish and the French emigrants had enjoyed a large share of civil liberty, had boldly contended for a total enfranchisement from regal domination, and, in many instances, the latter seemed to desire the annihilation of all dominion: yet, in the southern states, no people less reluctantly practise this worst species of tyranny; thus, when in power, openly denying that blessing to others, which, when in subjection, they had claimed for themselves.

The honour of printing the first newspaper in Pennsylvania, belongs to Andrew Bradford and John Copson; who, in the year 1719, published the American Weekly Mercury. The foundation of a medical school in the new world was laid in 1764, by a course of lectures delivered at the University of Pennsylvania by Dr. Shippen.

Delaware was first visited by the Swedes and Finlanders. In 1627, they purchased from the natives a large tract on each side of the river which now bears that name, and gave their colony the name of New Sweden. Having, by their



excellent deportment, obtained the friendship of the Indians, they made a settlement on Christiana-creek; laid out a handsome town on the west side of the Delaware; and, soon afterwards, formed establishments at Lewistown, Tenecum, and Chester; at each of which, they erected forts. Tenecum was their seat of government. About this period, the English began a settlement at Elsingburg, on the Jersey side of the river: whence, they were expelled by the Dutch governor; who employed the Swedes to keep them entirely out of the Delaware. Of this opportunity, the Swedes, however, made an unjustifiable use. Having raised a fort, on the very ground from which they had expelled the English, they asserted their own exclusive right to the navigation of the river, and exercised authority over every vessel that entered; from which usurpation, the Dutch themselves were not exempted. But this exclusion was not allowed to pass unnoticed. The Swedes soon felt the effects of their imprudence. Stuyvesant reduced all their forts, on both sides of the Delaware, sent the officers and principal inhabitants in confinement to Holland, and incorporated the remainder with his own government; under which they remained, until their invaders were overthrown, as already related, by the superior power of the English.

We come now to speak of Georgia; the last settled of the thirteen colonies that revolted from the government of Britain, and established their independence.

It derives its name from the sovereign, George the second; by whose authority it was established. Its promoter was general Oglethorpe. Under his conduct, one  
 1732 hundred and sixteen persons embarked at Gravesend, in November; and, early in the ensuing year, on the site of an Indian village, called Yomacrow, laid the foundation of Savannah; a town named from the river upon which it stands. A treaty was shortly afterwards made with the Indians; from whom was obtained a considerable cession of lands; which, for the purpose of defending the colony, were, at first, granted to the settlers as military fiefs, on condition that they were, when called upon, to appear in arms.

As the Spaniards laid claim to Georgia, Oglethorpe engaged with activity in the essential business of defence. He erected forts at Augusta and Frederica. The policy of this measure was soon apparent. In a few days after  
 1742 their completion, the Spaniards sent against him three thousand men, to drive his people from the

colony. When the invaders were proceeding up the Altamaha, the governor was obliged to retreat to Frederica. Besides some Indians, he had not more than seven hundred men: yet, with only a part of this inferior force, he bravely advanced within two miles of the enemies' camp, designing to attack them by surprise; when a French soldier of his party fired his musket, and ran into the Spanish lines. Oglethorpe's situation was truly critical: he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. But though he now despaired of repelling the enemy by force, he hoped to induce them to retreat by his address. Returning to Frederica, he wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards of its defenceless state, and urge them to the attack. If he could accomplish this object, he was directed to use all his art in persuading them to remain three days at fort Simons's; as, within that period, he should have a reenforcement of two thousand land-troops, with six ships of war: and, at the same time, he was cautioned not to drop a hint of admiral Vernon's intended enterprise against St. Augustine. This letter was given to a Spanish prisoner, under a promise of delivering it to the deserter; but he handed it, as was expected, to the commander in chief. The Frenchman was accordingly placed in irons. He was no longer considered a deserter, but a spy. Meanwhile, three ships of war, despatched from Carolina, appeared upon the coast; thus, realizing the apprehensions of the Spaniard, and, in part, the ingenious stratagem of his opponent. The enemy were agitated and alarmed: in their consternation, they set fire to the fort, and hastily embarked.

For many years, during the infancy of Georgia, it languished, through various causes;—the peculiar tenure of the lands, the restriction on the importation of rum, (which deprived it of a market for its lumber, in the West Indies,) and the total prohibition against the introduction of slaves. As regards the first, we believe that the arrangement was both illiberal and impolitic; the second was perhaps erroneous, though dictated by a parental feeling for the health and morals of the colony: but the law respecting slaves is approved by every generous, every manly feeling, of the heart; required by justice, by reason, by religion. Application, however, was frequently made to the proprietors for its annulment. With this, do the annals of the world afford a parallel; except in the appeal made, above two centuries before, by the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the withhold-

ing from exterminating slavery the legitimate tenants of the soil? The restriction, however, upon the surrender of the charter to the crown, was immediately removed; a measure which, though it may have increased the riches of the colony, has placed the name of Georgia pre-eminent amongst the supporters of this unhappy traffic.

The early settlers in this state were principally from Scotland. Its founder was a native of England. Entering the army at an early age, he served on the continent of Europe under the celebrated prince Eugene, until the restoration of peace, when he was returned a member of the British parliament. In that assembly, general Oglethorpe distinguished himself as a useful legislator, by proposing several laws for the benefit of trade and the reform of prisons. His philanthropy should not be forgotten. At the beginning of the colonial misunderstanding with the mother country, he was offered the command of the British army in America; but, highly to his honour, he refused the important office, on the principle of not being commissioned to do that degree of justice to the people, to which he might be equitably inclined. This able soldier, and virtuous and accomplished citizen, died, after the contest was decided, at the venerable age of ninety-seven years; being the oldest general in the English service.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*George Washington. Defeat of Braddock. Death of general Wolfe. Conquest of Canada. Dr. Franklin. Disputes with the British Parliament. Meeting of Congress. War. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.*

WE have only slightly glanced at the uninterrupted hostilities hitherto carried on between the colonists and the French in one quarter, and the Spaniards in another. Nor is it our intention, henceforward, to detail them with minuteness. Nothing shall be introduced, here, farther than what seems essential, to preserve the continuity of history, and enable us, when describing an event, to see perspicuously the channels through which it flowed, and the source from which it sprung.

In reviewing the desolating collision that so long subsisted between the crowns of France and England, we are nat-



urally led to inquire, to which party belonged the most equitable right of possession. It is evident, that as far as depended on discovery, England had the advantage; but, as regarded occupation, the claims of France were, in some respects, superior, and, in all, nearly equal. The settlements at Jamestown and Quebec, the first respective capitals of each, were made so nearly at the same time, as to be within fifteen months of each other. The first established was Quebec. But the period at length arrived, when the question of boundary was no longer to be a subject of diplomatic ingenuity, but of a more decisive mode of argument, the sword. France, besides having possession of Canada, in the north, had also a territory on the Mississippi, called Louisiana, in the south; and strove, by a military chain, the links of which were formed of out-posts stretching along the Ohio and the lakes, to connect these two extremities, and thus restrain the British colonists within the arbitrary limits of her own dictation. The latter, however, were not disposed, either to submit to the curtailment, or to incur the additional inconvenience of a savage warfare, nurtured, by that means, at their very doors. They had too severely felt the influence of the French, when more distant, by their encouraging the Indians to destroy them: and, moreover, they claimed the entire lands from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

An interesting character was, by this misunderstanding, brought forward. Repeated complaints of violence having been made to the governor of Virginia, he determined to send a suitable person to the French commandant near the Ohio, with a letter, demanding the reason of his hostile proceedings, and insisting that he should evacuate a fort which he had lately erected. For this arduous undertaking, George Washington, a major of the militia, then little more than twenty-one years of age, offered his service. The distance of the French settlement was above four hundred miles: half the route led through a wilderness, inhabited by hostile Indians. He received his instructions from governor Dinwiddie, on the last day of October, and immediately commenced his journey. On the way, his horse failed. He nevertheless proceeded, with a single companion, on foot, with a gun in his hand, and his shoulders burthened by a pack; on the 12th of December, reached a French fort on the river Le Bœuf, and gave the letter to the commander. In a few days, he received an answer; which, about the middle of January, he delivered to the

governor at Williamsburg, after as fatiguing and perilous a journey as it is possible to conceive. Throughout the whole, he and his friend experienced a continued series of cold, wet weather. Every moment, they were in danger from a hidden foe; and, at one time, an Indian, belonging to a party who had lain for the purpose in ambush, discharged a rifle at them, when within less than fifteen yards; but fortunately missed his object. Yet, under all these disadvantages, Washington was enabled, by his own observations, and by inquiries from others, to gain very extensive information; respecting the face and soil of the country, the distances and bearings of places, and the number, size, and strength, of nearly all the enemy's forts.

George Washington was born in the parish which bears his family name, in the county of Westmoreland, in Virginia, on the 11th (corresponding with the new style 22d) of February, 1732. He was the third son of Augustine Washington, a planter, of respectable talents, distinguished integrity, and large estate; descended from an ancient family of Cheshire, in England: one of whom removed to Virginia, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and became the proprietor of a large tract of land in King George's county. Inhaling a pure mountain air, and accustomed to the healthful occupations of a rural life, his limbs expanded to a large and well-proportioned size, corresponding with his majestic stature. His education was suited to the business of the country. His classical studies were not pursued beyond the rudiments of the Latin tongue; but his knowledge of the most useful branches of mathematics, was sufficiently extensive.

At the age of ten years, his father dying, the charge of a numerous family devolved on major Washington's eldest brother, Lawrence; a young gentleman of promising talents, who had a captain's commission in the provincial troops, employed in the celebrated attack against Carthage, under admiral Vernon. On his return, Lawrence married the daughter of the honourable William Fairfax, and settled on his patrimonial estate; which, through respect to his admiral, he called Mount Vernon. He was afterwards made adjutant-general of the militia of Virginia; but did not long survive the appointment. He left one daughter, who died young; and his second brother also, having died without children, the major succeeded to Mount Vernon. The genius of Washington was on the point of being exercised on a different element from that on which

he has been already introduced. At the age of fifteen, he was entered as a midshipman in the British navy; but his mother, then a widow, unwilling that he should be employed at so great a distance, that profession was abandoned.

The reply which the French commander had given, brought matters to a crisis. The Virginia assembly were induced to organize a regiment, in order to support the claims of Britain over the territory in dispute. Of this, Mr. Fry was appointed colonel, and young Washington

1754 lieutenant colonel. With two companies, the latter pushed forward as far as the Great Meadows; where he surprised and captured, in the night, a party of French who were advancing towards the English settlements. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Fry died, and Washington became commander of the regiment. Having then collected the whole at the Meadows, and being joined by two independent companies, he went on to dislodge the enemy from Fort Duquesne (the site of the present Pittsburg;) a post which they had recently erected at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers. On his way, however, being informed that the garrison had been strongly reinforced, and that the French were again advancing with nine hundred men, besides Indians, his own party not being four hundred, he deemed it prudent to fall back, and make a stand at a fort which he had thrown up previous to his setting out. Before he had time to complete his fortifications, he was attacked by De Villier. He made a brave defence, behind his small unfinished works; but, after a contest of nine hours, in which two hundred of the enemy were killed, he was under the necessity of agreeing to a capitulation; his men being allowed to march out with all the honours of war, to retain their arms and baggage, and retire, unmolested, into the inhabited parts of Virginia.

To draw forth the colonial resources, in a uniform system of operations, a meeting of the governors and most distinguished members of the provincial assemblies was held at Albany, in the state of New-York; where, it was proposed, that a grand council should be formed, of persons chosen by the respective assemblies; which council, together with a governor, to be chosen by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and to raise money, from all the colonies, for the common defence. But this plan was not acceptable to the British ministry. They proposed another; that the governors, attended by one or two members of their respective councils, which were, for the



most part, of royal appointment, should concert measures for all the colonies; erect forts, and raise troops: with power to draw on the English treasury, in the first instance; but the expense to be ultimately reimbursed *by a tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament*. This plan was as much disrelished by the colonies, as the former had been by the British ministry. Having been communicated, through one of the royal governors, to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion thereon requested, this sagacious patriot expressed his sentiments in writing; and, by his strong reasoning powers, discovered, in the intended measure, the germ of a controversy in which he himself holds so conspicuous and honourable a place.

By whatever means, however, the supplies were to be raised, both England and the colonies agreed that no time should be lost in commencing the military operations. It was therefore resolved to drive the French from the Ohio, and from all the posts which they held within the limits claimed by the king of Great Britain. To effect the first

1755 purpose, general Braddock was sent from Europe to Virginia, with two regiments; where he was joined by as many as increased his force to twenty-two hundred men. He was a brave man; but his bravery was unaccompanied by experience. He was strict in the camp; but his strictness was tinctured with severity, and his severity approached to arrogance. He particularly slighted the colonial militia, and the Virginia officers. Washington, who acted as aid-de-camp of the general, asked permission to go before him, and scour the woods with provincial troops; who were well acquainted with that service. But this was refused. Braddock, with twelve hundred men, pushed on, incautiously, until, on the 9th of July, within a few miles of Fort Duquesne, he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians. The invisible enemy commenced a heavy and well-directed fire on his uncovered troops. The van was forced back on the main body, and the whole was thrown into confusion. The slaughter was dreadful: particularly amongst the officers. In a short time, Washington was the only aid-de-camp left alive, and not wounded. He had two horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his coat: but he escaped unhurt. Throughout the whole of the carnage and confusion, he displayed the greatest coolness and self-possession. Braddock, too, was undismayed, amidst a shower of bullets; and by his countenance and example encouraged his men to stand their ground: but valour was

useless, and discipline only offered a surer mark to the destructive aim of unseen marksmen. The action lasted nearly three hours, and seven hundred men were killed upon the spot. The general had three horses shot under him, and received a mortal wound. All the officers in the British regiments evinced the utmost bravery: their whole number was eighty-five; of whom sixty-four were killed or wounded. Their men were so disconcerted, by the unusual mode of attack, and the dreadful war-whoop of the Indians, that they soon broke, and could not be rallied: but the provincials, more accustomed to the scene, were much less affected. They continued, an unbroken body, under colonel Washington, and covered the retreat of their associates.

Three successive campaigns had procured nothing but expense and disappointment. The French had the command of the lakes, a complete ascendancy over the Indians, and were in possession of the whole country which produced the war. With an inferior force, they had been successful in every campaign; in America, in Europe, and in Asia. Gloomy apprehensions were entertained as to the destiny of the British colonies. These fears were soon removed. A change of ministry took place. William

1756 Pitt, (afterwards lord Chatham,) was intrusted with the public helm. To despair, succeeded hope; and to hope, victory. His active mind, and enterprising genius, seemed to infuse themselves throughout the empire,—through the senate and the people, the army and the navy. Supplies were granted with liberality, and given without reluctance: soldiers enlisted freely, and fought with enthusiasm. In a short time, the French were dispossessed, not only of all the territories in dispute, but of Quebec, 1759 and their ancient province of Canada; so that all that remained to them, of their numerous settlements in North America, was New Orleans, with a few plantations on the Mississippi. The French regular troops were transported to France: the Canadians, being secured in the possession of their property, and in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religion, submitted, and took the oath of allegiance to the king of England.

The siege of Quebec recalls the name of an illustrious British officer, the gallant Wolfe; the general who led the European and colonial troops to victory before its walls, and fell in the moment of success. His youth, his spirit, his amiable and social manners, and an engagement which he had formed in England with the interesting object of his

affections; all, awaken the tenderest sympathies of a generous breast. The name of Wolfe will be recollected with a pleasing sorrow. The closing scene of his military glory, drawn by the commanding pencil of Barry, and of West, will be a lasting subject of admiration.

1762 After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, a general peace was concluded. France ceded Canada to Great Britain; and Spain, having taken part in the war, relinquished, as the price of recovering Havanna, both East and West Florida; leaving Britain in possession of an extent of country equal to the combined dimensions of several kingdoms in Europe. The addition of Canada on the north, and the Floridas on the south, made her almost sole mistress of the northern continent.\*

Important considerations attended the termination of this colonial struggle. To enable us to form a just estimate of the contending arguments, it will be useful to relate the occurrences by which they were preceded. As often as pecuniary or military aid had been required from the colonies, during the continuance of that widely-extended warfare, requisitions were made to their respective legislatures; which, in general, were cheerfully answered. Very powerful assistance was given. Four hundred colonial privateers cruised with successful vigilance, and twenty-four thousand provincial soldiers co-operated with the English regulars in North America.

The recent addition to the British empire, of those vast regions, which would gradually be advancing in population and in power, not only excited the jealousy of sovereigns, but occasioned doubts in the minds of enlightened politicians, whether acquisitions so immense would contribute to the welfare of the parent state. To combine, in one uniform system of government, the extensive territory then subjected to the British sway, appeared to men of reflection an impracticable task. Nor were they mistaken in their conjectures. The high sentiments of liberty and independence, nurtured in the colonies, from their local situation and habits of society, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbours. War, also, had left impressions no less effective on their future destination. They had gained experience in the field, and confidence in their own ability. Foreseeing their importance, from the rapid increase of their numbers, and extension of their commerce; and be-

\* The Spaniards regained the Floridas, in the great American war.



ing jealous of their rights; they readily admitted, and with pleasure indulged, ideas favourable to independence: and, whilst combustible materials were collecting in the new world, a brand to enkindle them was preparing in the old.

During their infancy, Great Britain regarded her plantations as mere instruments of commerce. Without charging herself with the care of their internal police, or seeking from them a revenue, she was contented with a monopoly of their trade. Until the year 1764, the colonial regulations seemed to have no other object than the common good of the whole empire. But a new era of political experiment then commenced. When the colonies had grown more capable of resisting impositions, she changed the ancient system, under which they had long flourished. When prudence would have dictated a relaxation of her authority, she rose in her demands, and multiplied her restraints. She enacted that their bills of credit should cease to have legal currency, and commenced the anomalous system of raising from them an efficient revenue, by direct internal taxes, laid by authority of parliament; a measure, universally reprobated, as contrary to their natural and chartered rights, and now brought forward as a means of reducing her national debt, amounting to nearly one hundred and fifty millions sterling. The minister urged, that it was reasonable the colonies should contribute a just portion of the expenses incurred by the late war, which had originated on their account. To this principle, the latter made no objections: but, whilst they admitted the principle, they opposed the manner of enforcement. They believed, that the chief excellence of the British constitution lay in the right of the subjects to grant, or to withhold, taxes: and in their having a share in the enactment of laws, by which they were to be governed; and, as they were not represented in the British parliament, that they should not be obliged to contribute what that body might find it their interest to exact.

At the time of that disastrous warfare, in which Washington rose upon the ruins of the incautious Braddock, resolutions had passed the British parliament for laying a stamp-duty in America; but they were not followed immediately by any legislative act. The declaratory opinion of that body met no opposition, on either side of the Atlantic; because "the omnipotence of parliament" was then a familiar phrase: but, afterwards, when the measure was examined, it was better understood, and constitutional objections were urged by many sagacious statesmen, both in

England and America. But, notwithstanding the powerful reasons offered against this unjust and hazardous experiment, George Grenville, impelled by a partiality for a long-cherished scheme, in the following year, again  
 1765 brought into the house of commons this unpopular bill, and succeeded in its enactment. By this, the instruments of writing in daily use amongst a commercial people, were to be null and void, unless executed on paper or parchment stamped with a specific duty. Law documents and leases, articles of apprenticeship and contracts, protests and bills of sale, newspapers and advertisements, almanacs and pamphlets,—all, must contribute to the British treasury.

When the measure was examined, Charles Townshend delivered a speech in its favour; in concluding which, “Will these Americans,” he said, “children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, till they are grown up to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms; will they grudge to contribute their mite, to relieve us from the weight of that heavy burthen under which we lie?”—“They, planted by your care!” replied colonel Barrè: “No; they were planted by your oppressions. They fled from tyranny, to an uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, amongst others, to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take it upon me to say, the most formidable, people, on the face of this earth: and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with what they had suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends. They, nourished by your indulgence! They grew up by your neglect. As soon as you began to extend your care, that care was displayed in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this house; sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon their substance: men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of freedom to recoil within them: men promoted to the highest seats of justice—some, who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They, protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidst their con-

stant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated these people at first, will accompany them still:—but, prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from any motives of party heat. I deliver the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet, I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen that country, and been conversant with its people. They are, I believe, as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate: I will say no more.”

The night after the bill passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, “The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy.”—Mr. Thomson answered: “I was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence, and I foresee the opposition that will be made.”

By a clause in the stamp-act, it was not to have operation until the first day of November; a period of more than seven months from its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity of leisurely examining the subject, and viewing it on every side. The voice of legislative opposition was, at this time, first heard in Virginia. In an animated speech, Mr. Patrick Henry, on the 20th of May, brought into the house of burgesses in that colony a number of resolutions, which were substantially adopted, and which concluded by declaring, “That every individual, who, by speaking or acting, should assert or maintain, that any person, or body of men, except the general assembly of the province, had any right to impose taxation there, should be deemed an enemy to his majesty’s colony.”

“Cæsar,” exclaimed the orator, “had his Brutus; Charles the first, his Cromwell; and George the third—may profit by his example.”

A declaration, similar to that of Virginia, had been made, nearly a century before, in Massachusetts.

Those resolutions were immediately disseminated through the other provinces. The tongues and pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press,



and its influence became general. As the assemblies met, they displayed a similar feeling. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the innovation. The assembly in Massachusetts (before the arrival of the Virginia declarations) passed a resolution in favour of a continental Congress; fixed a day in October for its meeting in New York, and sent letters to the speakers of the other assemblies, requesting their concurrence.

This first advance towards a union was seconded by South Carolina. The other colonies, too, with the exception of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, prevented by their governors, and New Hampshire, which dissented from the proposition, espoused the invitation, and assembled at the appointed place. Here, they agreed on a declaration of their rights, and a statement of their grievances; asserting, in strong language, their exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives; and drew up a petition to the king, with memorials to the house of lords and the house of commons.

There was, however, a considerable degree of timidity evinced in this congress; and the members were on no measure unanimous. Thomas Ruggles, of New York, who presided, refused to affix his name to the memorial; and Mr. Ogden, then speaker of the New Jersey assembly, followed his example: for which conduct, he was burned in effigy, in many counties of his province, and removed from his situation. The boldest, and most impressive arguments were offered by James Otis of Massachusetts; who was one of the earliest patriots of that time, and fell a private sacrifice to the cause which he had so fearlessly defended.

At length, arrived the first of November; the day on which the obnoxious impost was to commence its operation. The general aversion to the act was demonstrated in a variety of ways. The people of Boston forcibly displayed their feelings. The morning which matured its existence, spoke forth its destroying agency in the mournful accents of the funeral knell; many shops and stores were closed; effigies of the unpopular characters were paraded through the streets, and exposed to that derision which was merited by the originals. At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the day was ushered in with similar evidence of hostility and grief. The proceedings there were remarkably affecting. In the course of the day, notice having been given to the friends of Liberty to attend her

funeral, a coffin, neatly ornamented and inscribed with the word, "Liberty," was carried to the grave. The procession moved forward from the state-house, attended by unbraced drums. Minute guns were fired, and continued until the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then, an eulogium on the deceased was pronounced. It was scarcely ended, before the coffin was taken up; it having been perceived that some remains of life were left: the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty Revived:" the bells exchanged their melancholy, for a joyful sound, and satisfaction appeared in every countenance.

Notwithstanding that the stamp law was to have operated from the first of November, yet legal proceedings in the courts were carried on as before: vessels entered and departed without stamped papers: printers boldly circulated their newspapers, and, in most departments, business was conducted, by common consent, in defiance of the parliament, as if no stamp act was in existence. The people of Philadelphia, and, after them, nearly all the commercial portion of English America, prohibited lawyers from instituting any action for money due to an inhabitant of England. Nor was their determined spirit of opposition confined to a mere defensive means of parliamentary defeat. Still farther measures were adopted. Associations were formed against importing British manufactures, until that law should be repealed; which, by throwing many thousands in the mother country out of employment, and depriving her merchants of the usual benefits attending extensive orders, made it the interest of both classes in England to advocate the cause of the Americans.

In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists applied with diligence to domestic manufactures: to increase the quantity of wool, they abstained from eating lamb: and to form a barrier against the enforcement of the obnoxious act, they resolved to protect, by force of arms, all who should be in danger from resistance.

1766 Conduct so magnanimous and firm had the desired effect. Warm discussions followed in the British parliament. The marquis of Rockingham, much esteemed for his sincerity and the vigour of his genius, was appointed first lord of the treasury, in the room of George Grenville; and general Conway was called to fill the place of colonial secretary. Anxiously desirous to obtain a revocation of the obnoxious taxes, the new administration employed

the opinion and authority of Dr. Franklin; who, as agent for some of the colonies, was examined at the bar of the house of commons; and, in that pungent manner, characteristic of his superior mind, gave extensive information, which served greatly to remove prejudices, and promote a disposition friendly to a repeal. The ablest speakers in both houses denied the justice of taxing the colonies. "You have no right," said William Pitt, "to tax America. I rejoice that she has resisted. Three millions of people, so lost to every sense of virtue, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." The opposition could not be withstood: the repeal was carried in March; an event which caused great joy in England. The ships in the river Thames displayed their colours, and the city was illuminated. In America, the homespun clothes were presented to the poor, and orders for British goods were given more extensively than ever.

But, though the taxes were repealed, the right of levying them was not relinquished. Simultaneously with the revocation, was passed the declaratory act, purporting that the legislature of Great Britain had a right to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatever. This alleged power would not, however, it was thought, have been used, had not the Rockingham administration been displaced by the baneful counsels of lord Bute; who was enabled to influence the king, in consequence of having superintended his education. The chief reins of government were now given to the duke of Grafton. Charles Townshend, the new chancellor of the exchequer, immediately procured a bill for granting in the colonies, duties on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea.

The fire of opposition, which had been deprived of its fuel by the repeal of the former impost, was now kindled, with additional ardour, by the same principle exhibited in its new form. John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was an able advocate of his country's rights. He attracted public notice in a series of letters, signed "A Farmer;" proving the extreme danger that threatened the liberties of America, from submission to a precedent establishing the claim of parliamentary taxation. Dr. Franklin afterwards published a number of pieces, much in the style of the Irish patriot, Swift; which, by their excellent wit and humour, combined with the pointed justness of the allegory, had a powerful influence on the understanding of the people.



Virginia held a pen which poured forth conviction in the captivating style of classic elegance. The Monitor's Letters, by Dr. Lee; a Summary View of the Rights of British America, by Thomas Jefferson; an Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, by Richard Bland; and "Considerations," by Robert Carter Nicholas, as well as the memorials, remonstrances, and other public acts of that colony; were all written in a masterly manner. South Carolina produced a poem, entitled "Liberty," under the assumed name of Rusticus; which, for dignity and vigour, will vie with any that has ever appeared, on the subject of politics. Its motto, "*Et majores vestros et posteros cogitate*," (Think of your fathers, and your posterity,) was happily appropriate; addressing every noble and generous affection of the human breast. The controversy was ably supported also in New England. The subsequent orations of Warren and Hancock, in commemoration of an affray in which their fellow-citizens of Boston were slain, exhibit fine specimens of impassioned eloquence. But, the most powerful writer was the celebrated Thomas Paine, of London, who resided for some time in America; and, in a work entitled Common Sense, roused the public feeling to a degree unequalled by any previous appeal.

As might have been expected, the new duties gave rise to a second association for suspending importations of British manufactures. Uniformity in this measure was promoted by the Massachusetts' assembly; whose activity drew forth the marked displeasure of the crown. They were ordered to cancel their resolutions; and, on their refusal, were dissolved.

The bad humour which already so much prevailed, was about this time inflamed to a high degree of resentment and violence, by the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop Liberty, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira; a refusal made in accordance with the recent spirit of non-importation. Soon afterwards, two regiments and some armed vessels arrived in Boston, to assist the revenue officers in the execution of their duty. These served to restrain the fury of the multitude; but they increased the displeasure and vigilance of the more important members of society. Out of ninety-seven townships, deputies from ninety-six attended a convention in that town, reviewed the transactions of the past, turned their minds to the alarming prospect of the future, and stated to the world their opinions, and the causes of their meeting

Encouraged by the expectation of quelling the refractory by arms, or by the too often tried system of division, the parliament, for a while, maintained with obstinacy their determination to enforce the duties. They continued to dissolve the opposing assemblies, and even threatened still further infringements and severity. But the colonists retained their accustomed firmness: each inroad upon their rights caused a new sacrifice of commercial advantage, a fresh retrenchment of domestic luxury and comfort. This collision, the mercantile and manufacturing classes in England having felt with destructive force, lord North, who had succeeded the duke of Grafton as prime minister, dreading the effects of popular resentment, paused  
1770 for a moment in the career of ruin and disgrace, and obtained a repeal of the duties on glass, paper, and painters' colours,—but retained it upon the tea.

This concession was followed by a temporary calm. From the pledges then given by the British government, that they would not again attempt to lay taxes on the colonies for the purpose of revenue, and from the various sources by which they were supplied with tea, without being under the necessity of infringing their determinations against importing it from Great Britain, the mercantile intercourse with the mother country was renewed; and many hoped that the contention was closed for ever. In all the provinces, except Massachusetts, appearances favoured that opinion. But many incidents operated there, to disturb that harmony which had begun, in other places, to return. The stationing of a military force amongst the inhabitants in that province, was a fruitful source of uneasiness. Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries imbittered the passions, of the opposite parties. Some high-spirited persons in Boston, who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered on them, were constantly exciting the populace to quarrel with the soldiers. On the second of March, an affray took place between a private soldier and an inhabitant: on the fifth, a party, when under arms, were insulted by a mob, pelted with stones, and dared to fire; and, at length, unable to withstand the increasing violence, a few muskets being discharged, by which three men were killed, nothing but an engagement to remove the army from the town, prevented the inhabitants from taking immediate revenge. The captain who commanded, and the privates who fired on the people, were tried on a charge of murder, but acquitted; a result which reflects great

honour on their counsel, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, and also upon the jury; on the one, for thus boldly exerting their professional abilities; on the other, for giving an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinion or resentment.

“The events of that tragical night,” observes a well-informed historian, “sunk deep into the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed, to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds; and thus, the blessings of liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of the standing army, the rights of the colonies, were presented to the public, in their most pleasing and alarming forms.”

From these, and other occurrences not imperiously essential to be noticed in the pages of an epitome, no other than the most guarded conduct, on both sides, could prevent a universal explosion.

But an impolitic scheme, afterwards concerted between the British ministry and the East India Company, led the contending parties again on the disputed ground, and formed them in hostile array against each other. The com-

1773 pany were now authorized to export their tea, to all places, free of duty. By this regulation, that article, though loaded, in the colonies, with an exceptionable impost, would be cheaper, there, than before it was made a source of revenue; for, the duty thus removed when exported from Great Britain, was greater than that to be paid on its importation into America. Confident, therefore, of success, in finding a market for their tea, in this manner lowered in its price, and also of collecting a duty on it in the colonies, the company freighted several ships with this commodity, and appointed agents for its disposal. However, as the time approached when their arrival might be expected, such measures were adopted, as were the most likely to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The consignees were in several places compelled to relinquish their appointments: the pilots, in the Delaware, were warned not to conduct any of the tea-ships into that river; and, in New York, popular vengeance was denounced against all who would contribute, in any measure, to forward the views of the East India Company. In consequence, the captains, destined to New York and Philadelphia, returned directly to Great Britain, without making any entry at the custom-house. But it was otherwise at



Boston. The tea, for the supply of that port, was consigned to the sons and particular friends of governor Hutchinson. They were resolute in their determination to receive it; the custom-house officers and the governor equally strenuous to prevent the vessels from departing, without a regular entry and clearance. A new method of defence, therefore, became necessary. What was so zealously imported for their consumption, the people, with a corresponding energy, were determined to destroy. Countenanced by the general voice, a party, dressed as Indians, boarded the tea-ships, broke open their cargoes, and threw the contents into the sea.

The event of this business was very different from what had been expected in England. With so much vigour had the colonists acted, that there was not a single chest sold, of all that were sent out by the East India Company.

1774 Enraged against the people of Boston, the parliament resolved to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town. Disregarding the forms of the British constitution, by which none are to be condemned unheard, or punished without a trial, they passed a bill, closing, in a commercial sense, its port: and, soon afterwards, its custom-house officers, and consequently its trade, were removed to Salem: there, to remain, until reparation should be made for the property destroyed. The charter of the colony was new-modeled; so that the whole executive government was taken from the people, and the nomination to all important offices vested in the crown. Nor was this thought sufficient. It was enacted, that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any capital offence committed in aiding the magistrates, the government might send him to another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried; a precaution evidently superfluous; as a remarkable proof of the dispassionate administration of justice in Massachusetts, stood recorded, in the case of the British officer and his party.

Property, liberty, and life, were thus subjected to ministerial caprice. But, though these violations excited grief, they failed to produce terror, amongst the Americans. They awoke the indifferent; they inflamed the ardent. One soul now animated nearly all the colonies. The parliament, notwithstanding, did not rest here: they advanced another step; which increased their enemies on one side of the Atlantic, and alienated their friends on the other. They passed an act, relating to the government of Canada; by

which, its boundaries were extended southward to the Ohio, westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the borders of the Hudson's Bay Company: its laws were assimilated to the French: dispensing, in civil cases, with the trial by jury: thereby, rendering its inhabitants passive agents in the hands of power; to aid, it was supposed, in deterring the neighbouring provinces, and imposing on them constitutions modeled after the same form.

Within little more than a month after the intelligence of these arrangements reached America, it was communicated from state to state: and a flame was kindled in almost every breast, through the widely-extended provinces.

In order to understand the mode by which this feeling was spread, with so great rapidity, over so large an extent of country, it is necessary to observe, that the several colonies were divided into counties, and these subdivided into districts. Accordingly, under the association formed to oppose the revenue act of 1767, committees had been established, not only in the capitals of every province, but in most of the subordinate divisions; an important and indispensable means of union, which was at this period revived.

The British cabinet had no sooner finally resolved on closing the port of Boston, than they determined to order thither a large military force. General Gage, the commander-in-chief of North America, was sent, in the additional capacity of governor of Massachusetts; and, soon afterwards, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery, arrived; and re-enforcements from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec.

Hitherto, Boston had been the seat of commerce and plenty. The scene was now reversed; and every class was affected by the change. The income of landholders either entirely ceased, or was much diminished: the immense property expended on stores and wharves, was rendered completely useless. Labourers, artificers, and others, employed in the numerous occupations arising from an extensive trade, felt the general calamity; a calamity rendered more intolerable, from the recollection of past enjoyments. Yet, all these inconveniences and hardships were borne with invincible fortitude. Their determination to persist in the same line of conduct which had been the occasion of their sufferings, was unabated. If they had not a prospect of mercy from their oppressors, they had the consolation of sympathy from their friends. Addresses poured in from corporate towns, town meetings, and provincial assemblies,

applauding their conduct; and aid was provided, to support their perseverance. Marblehead generously offered to Boston the use of her harbour, wharves, and warehouses, and the personal attendance of her people, free of expense; and Salem, with a magnanimous self-denial, to which commercial annals afford no parallel, refused to adopt the trade of the devoted town, and build its fortune upon the wreck of a suffering neighbour.

Affairs rapidly approached the crisis. Both parties tended towards the awful collision with accelerating progress. The proceedings and apparent disposition of the people, together with the military preparations daily making through the province, induced general Gage to fortify the neck of land which joins Boston to the continent, and to seize the powder lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown. This excited a most violent ferment. Several thousand people assembled at Cambridge; who were with difficulty restrained from marching immediately to Boston, to demand a return of the powder, and, in case of a refusal, to attack the troops.

During the confusion, a rumour went abroad, that the royal fleet and military were firing upon Boston. In less than twenty-four hours, thirty thousand Americans were in arms, marching towards the town: other risings of the people took place, in different parts of the colony; whose violence was so great, that, in a short time, all who had taken an active part in favour of Great Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in the capital.

A provincial congress now assembled at Concord, chose John Hancock president, and remonstrated with the governor against his hostile proceedings on Boston Neck. Their admonitions were unavailing. In consequence, they resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants, who were obliged to turn out at "a minute's warning," and over whom, and the militia, they commissioned as general officers, Messrs. Pribble, Ward, Pomeroy, Thomas, and Heath.

As the winter approached, general Gage ordered barracks to be erected for his troops; but, so powerful was the influence of the popular leaders, that the workmen desisted from fulfilling his wishes, though their wages would have been regularly paid. An application to New York was equally unsuccessful; and similar obstructions were thrown in the way of getting even clothing for the winter. The merchants of this city answered, that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men sent to the country as



enemies. The farmers in Massachusetts were discouraged from selling them straw, timber, boards, and such articles of convenience. The first, when purchased for the royal service, was frequently overturned : vessels with brick were sunk, and carts with wood overturned.

Measures of a still more decisive character were taken. At Newport, in Rhode Island, the people seized and removed from the public battery, about forty pieces of cannon; and at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, a company of volunteers, headed by John Sullivan and John Langdon, having attacked the royal castle, secured the garrison, until they got possession of the powder. Cannon balls and other instruments of war, were carried from Boston to places of safety in the country, through the English guards, in carts apparently loaded with manure; and powder was conveyed in the panniers and baskets of persons returning from the market.

Meanwhile, on the 5th of September, a general congress of the American states assembled in Philadelphia. Their place of meeting was Carpenter's Hall; their president, Peyton Randolph of Virginia; their secretary, Charles Thomson of Pennsylvania. Twelve colonies were now represented; comprising all the old British settlements except Georgia: which from prudential reasons, satisfactory to the others, had not elected deputies. This august body, combining the first virtue and talent in the colonies, entered into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, prepared addresses to the people and the sovereign of Great Britain, as well as to all the inhabitants of North America; and directed their attention to every means of averting the dreadful calamity of civil war. These addresses, which were drawn under the immediate dictation of Messrs. Livingston and Jay; Adams, Johnson, John Dickinson, and Rutledge; are distinguished for their pure and constitutional principles, and commanding energy of style.

Having, in the following month, finished their important business, they dissolved; after recommending that another congress should be held on the 10th of May, in the ensuing year, in case a redress of their grievances was not previously obtained.

Impressed with a lively feeling of the sweets of liberty, and a high respect for the members of the late assembly, the greatest zeal was evinced, by a large majority of the people, to comply with their determinations. Whilst the

forms of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was really established. It was so generally the sense of the people that the public good required a compliance with the recommendations of congress, that any man who discovered anxiety about the continuance of trade, was viewed as a selfish individual, preferring his own interest to the good of his country. But the intemperate zeal of the populace frequently transported them so far beyond the limits of moderation, as to apply unjustifiable punishments to persons who contravened the general opinion of the community. Some were placed beneath a pump, and underwent forcible ablution; others, after being smeared with tar, were rolled in feathers, and, in this state, exposed to the ridicule of the spectators: yet, a more common mode, was to treat them with contempt and scorn; arising in particular cases, to an exclusion from all social intercourse; and to placard their names, with the appellations of tories, traitors, cowards, and enemies.

When the British parliament assembled, the king, in his speech, dwelt strongly on the tumultuous proceedings in Massachusetts. An address from the commons, in reply, recommending the punishment of that colony, brought on, as usual, a spirited debate. In the house of lords, a conciliatory plan was offered by the venerable Chatham, and supported by all the force of his unrivalled eloquence. But, in both cases, the ministerial benches overthrew the opposition, by a large majority; and petitions, in favour of pacific measures, from the chief manufacturing and commercial towns, were consigned to dishonourable oblivion. This line of conduct was not indeed very wonderful. The minister received all his information respecting the colonial ferment from agents in America, who, in the true spirit of lord Chesterfield's system of flattery and deceit, transmitted their reports in accordance with the preconceptions of their employers. The maxim which teaches the hearing of both parties is seldom found within the precincts of a court. Upon such representations, a bill was passed, to restrain the general commerce of the colonies: from which law, however, New York, Delaware, and North Carolina, were exempted, apparently to create disunion; and at the same time the determination was matured, of arresting the progress of American disaffection by an overwhelming army.

But the ministers were again defeated. The golden harvest thus offered to these three, was suffered to fall unreap-

ed: and preparations on the one side were answered by inlistments on the other. The coercive measures of the parent state inclined the colonies to extend their claims. Hatred took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were substituted for the benefits of commerce.

Meanwhile, the leading men of Massachusetts were, with admirable prudence and address, preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing the people with arms, and training the militia. They had also stored munitions of war in several places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. These, general Gage now determined to destroy. He wished to prevent hostilities, by depriving the inhabitants of the means of conducting war: for, though zealous in his royal master's service, he discovered a prevailing desire for a peaceable accommodation; and, wishing to accomplish his object without bloodshed, took every precaution to effect it by surprise. At eleven

1775 o'clock at night, on the 18th of April, eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry marched for Concord; under the command of colonel Smith. But neither the secrecy with which this expedition was designed, nor the silent hour chosen for its march, was sufficient to conceal the intelligence of its movements from the country militia. About two in the ensuing morning, a hundred and thirty of the Lexington corps, under captain Parker, had assembled in that town, to oppose them. These, however, from the uncertainty as to the British soldiers appearing, were dismissed; with orders to muster again at beat of drum. Between four and five in the morning, seventy of their number had again collected; and, soon afterwards, the English regulars approached. The officer who led the advanced guard, rode up to the militia, and called out; "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." They still however continued in a body; on which, he discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. The militia returned a few shots; three or four of their number were killed on the green; and a few more when dispersing. The royal detachment then proceeded to Concord; where they disabled two cannon, and destroyed the public stores. Here, they experienced farther opposition. They were assailed by a party of militia under colonel Barrett, were allowed not a moment for refreshment, and began a retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition. The adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and attacked them in every



quarter. At Lexington, the royalists were joined by nine hundred men under lord Percy, sent out by general Gage to their support; which re-enforcement, having two pieces of cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance; but they continued a constant, though irregular fire, which did great execution. A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, worn down by excessive fatigue, and smarting with their wounds; having marched that day between thirty and forty miles, and been employed in their retreat by an uninterrupted battle. On the next day, they crossed Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston. Their loss was sixty-five killed, besides two hundred and eight wounded and made prisoners; that of the provincials, fifty killed, and thirty-eight wounded and missing.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country, on some hostile purpose, being forwarded from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only of Massachusetts, but of the adjacent colonies, grasped their arms and flew to offer battle. The Americans who had fallen were revered by their country. Resentment against the British burned more strongly than before. The forts, magazines, and arsenals, which, by the constitution of the country, had been in possession of the king, were for the most part, seized by the provincial militia. Ticonderoga was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states, under the direction of colonels Allen and Arnold; Crown Point was captured by colonel Warner; and provincial money, which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was appropriated to the common cause.

Hitherto, the Americans had no regular army. The congress of Massachusetts, then assembled at Watertown, ten miles from Boston, immediately after the battle of Lexington, voted, that thirty thousand men should be raised, in the New England colonies. In consequence, the business of recruiting was begun: and, in a short time, an army, under the command of general Ward, was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, much superior in number to the royal troops.

These military arrangements, were not confined to the New England states. They were general throughout the colonies. Arms and ammunition, forts and fortifications, were secured by the Americans, and money was coined for their support. But the amount of money was extremely small; their forces were almost wholly destitute of experi-

enced leaders; the arms and ammunition, lamentably deficient. When, however, they viewed the comparative smallness of their funds, they relied on mutual confidence for extension: when they reflected on their want of discipline, they looked for success from their courage. Paper money was issued for the common benefit; the pulpit, the press, the bench, and the bar, laboured to unite the people, and animate them to resistance.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them high reputation, came over about the same time. Thus strengthened, general Gage prepared for acting with more decision; but, before he proceeded to extremities, he issued a proclamation, holding forth the alternatives of peace or war; by offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations. From this indulgence, however, were excepted, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. Their offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than the severest punishment.

As martial law was at the same time proclaimed, it was supposed that those measures were a prelude to open war. Accordingly, the Americans made preparations for the event. A considerable height, named Bunker's Hill, at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated, as to render its possession a matter of great importance, to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued, by the provincial commanders, that colonel Prescott, with a detachment of a thousand men, should intrench upon its summit. But, in fulfilling the orders, an error was committed. Instead of Bunker's, they intrenched on Breed's Hill: high and large like the other, but situated a few hundred yards nearer to Boston. With so much diligence did they work, that, between midnight and the dawn of morning, on the seventeenth of June, they had thrown up a redoubt, forming a square of eight rods; and so profound a silence was observed, that they were not heard by the British on board their vessels, though at a very trifling distance. The first information was given them when the rising sun beamed against the works, which filled them with amazement. An incessant firing was immediately directed against the heights. The provincials bore it with veteran firmness, and continued to labour until

the / had thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, general Gage thought it necessary to have possession: about noon, therefore, he detached for this purpose generals Howe and Pigot, with the flower of his army and a body of marines; making in the whole nearly three thousand men.

In the meantime, the Americans, for their farther security, in the interval between the extremity of their trench and Mystic river, pulled up some post and rail fences, set them down in two parallel rows, at a small distance from each other, and filled the intervening space with hay. General Putnam, an old officer of Connecticut, directed in chief, aided by Pomeroy and Nolten of the same province, Starke of New Hampshire, and Joseph Warren, a physician of Massachusetts.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to destroy the American works. This allowed the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. They in general reserved their fire, until the assailants were within sixty yards, and then commenced a furious discharge of small-arms, loaded with balls and buck-shot. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the royal troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and impelled them forward with their swords; but they renewed the attack with much reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire, and put them a second time to flight. General Howe and his officers redoubled their exertions, and pushed on their men, who were as reluctant as before. At this critical juncture, generals Clinton and Burgoyne hastened from Boston with a reinforcement, the powder of the Americans began to fail, and their fire proportionably to slacken. The British brought some cannon to bear; which raked the inside of the breastworks, from end to end: the fire from the ships and batteries was increased; and the redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances, a retreat from it was ordered; but the provincials delayed, and made so long resistance, with the butts of their discharged muskets, the greater part being without bayonets, that the king's troops had half filled the redoubt, before it was abandoned.

It was apprehended, that the enemy would improve their advantage, by marching immediately to the American head quarters at Cambridge; but they advanced no farther than



Bunker's Hill. There, they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same, on Prospect Hill, about a mile distant, in their front. Both were guarding against an attack; and both were in a bad condition to receive one.

Few battles, in modern wars, produced a greater destruction of men, than this short engagement. The loss of the British was one thousand and fifty-four; amongst whom, were nineteen officers killed, and seventy wounded. None of the provincials had rifles: but they were good marksmen, and aimed chiefly at the officers; which accounts for so unusual a destruction of the latter. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, four hundred and fifty. Their number, at the commencement of the battle, was fifteen hundred; only half the amount of the assailants. They particularly lamented the death of general Warren; a man, who, to the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman. He was killed in the retreat. Finding his corps hotly pursued by the enemy, despising all danger, he stood alone before the ranks, endeavouring to rally his troops, and encourage them by his example. He pointed to their ensigns, and reminded them of their cheering mottos. An English officer perceived him, and knew him; and, having borrowed a musket, and hit him with a ball, he fell dead upon the spot.

Whilst the engines of war were employed on each side in the business of death, the property of the Americans was yielding, within view, to the consuming flames. As the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders, through a military policy, to burn Charlestown; and, in a short time, this ancient place, consisting of five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house formed a pyramid of fire, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with an awful spectacle.

Congress, agreeably with an arrangement made before its dissolution in the preceding year, had assembled at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May. They again chose Mr. Peyton Randolph president; and, on his being under the necessity of returning home, Mr. Hancock. When they received a report of the affair at Lexington, they issued directions for retaliating commercial distress on Britain; and, with their accustomed tone of moderation, dignity, and firm-

ness, proceeded in the general business of the colonies. Once more, they addressed the king, as well as the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland; and, at the same time, published to the world the reasons of their appeal to arms. "We are reduced," said they, "to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery."

The next object was a suitable person to conduct their armies. In deciding this important question, there was only one opinion throughout the provinces. George Washington was appointed, by congress, commander-in-chief of all the forces at that time raised, or afterwards to be embodied.

For three years subsequent to the defeat of Braddock, Washington superintended the troops of Virginia; in which highly dangerous service, he continued, until peace was given to the frontiers of his native colony, by the reduction of Fort Duquesne; an enterprise undertaken in conformity with his repeated solicitations, and accompanied by himself, at the head of his own regiment. The arduous duties of his situation, rendered irksome by the invidious treatment experienced from the governor, and by the unmanageable disposition of the officers and privates under his command, were related by himself, in a highly interesting narrative, and fully acknowledged by the assembly of Virginia. Soon afterwards, he retired to his estate at Mount Vernon, and pursued the arts of peaceful life, with great industry and success. When the proceedings of the British parliament had alarmed the colonists with apprehensions that a blow was leveled at their liberties, he again came forward to serve the public; was appointed a delegate to congress; and, in that body, was chairman of every committee selected to make arrangements for defence. He was now in his forty-fourth year, possessed a large share of common sense, and was directed by a sound judgment. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most proper method of accomplishing his plans. His passions were subdued, and held in subjection to reason. His mind was superior to prejudice and party spirit; his soul, too generous, to burthen his country with expense; his principles, too just, to allow his placing military glory in competition with the public good.

On the president of congress announcing his commission, he replied: "Though I am truly sensible of the high honour

done me in this appointment, yet, I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the congress desire it, I will enter on the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess, in their service, for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with. As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my disbursements: those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

In subordination to the commander-in-chief, four major-generals, one adjutant-general, and eight brigadier-generals, were appointed. The first were, Messrs. Ward, Charles Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam: the commission of adjutant-general was given to Horatio Gates: the brigadier-generals were Messrs. Pomeroy, Montgomery, and Wooster; Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan, and Greene. Lee and Gates were natives of England, and had gained considerable reputation in the British army.

Even the women were desirous of signalizing their zeal in defence of their country. In Bucks' county, Pennsylvania, they raised and equipped a regiment at their own expense, and armed those who were unable to bear the charge. The lady who presented the colours, embroidered with appropriate mottos by her own hands, made an eloquent harangue, exhorting the soldiers never to desert the banners of the American fair.

When general Washington joined the army at July 3. Cambridge, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's Hill; having three floating batteries on Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copse's Hill, and strong fortifications on the Neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury; with posts of communication extending over a distance of ten miles, and small parties stationed in several towns



along the sea-coast. Every thing essential to an army, except courage, was wanting in the patriot army. They had neither engineers to plan suitable works, nor sufficient tools to erect them. Instead of tents, the soldiers were only partially covered with sails; now useless to the mariner, from the obstructions of commerce. They had no commissaries: individuals brought to camp their own provisions, on their own horses:—nor, uniformity of dress: the hunting shirt was introduced, to abolish provincial distinctions. On the 4th of August, the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in all the public magazines of New England, would have made little more than nine rounds. A supply of several thousand pounds weight was soon afterwards obtained from Africa. Domestic rum was sent thither, in charge of confidential agents; who proceeded with so much address, that every ounce for sale in the British forts on the African coast, was purchased and brought off for the use of their opponents in America. Some fearless patriots of South Carolina in the following year boarded an English vessel at St. Augustine; from which, they obtained fifteen thousand pounds: and a large quantity was manufactured at Philadelphia; where a single mill produced five hundred pounds each week.

The continental army placed under the command of Washington, amounted to fourteen thousand five hundred men. These had been so judiciously stationed around Boston, as to confine the British in the town, and exclude them from the provisions afforded in the adjacent country and the islands in the bay. They were now arranged in three grand divisions. General Ward commanded the right wing, at Roxbury; general Lee, the left, at Prospect Hill; and the centre, the head quarters of which were at Cambridge, was under the immediate command of Washington himself. The military skill of adjutant-general Gates, in his particular department, was eminently conspicuous. He introduced punctuality and method, taught the officers and privates to know their respective places, and to have the mechanism as well as movements of an army.

Having thus accomplished a respectable beginning upon land, the continental energies were directed also to another element, the sea. In November, the Massachusetts assembly and the general congress resolved to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the American coast; for the purpose of intercepting warlike stores and supplies destined for the British army. The object was at first limited to these; but,

as the prospect of accommodation receded, it was extended to all British property afloat. The Americans were diffident of their ability to effect any thing on water, against the naval power of England, the greatest in the world. But even their earliest attempts were successful, and inspired them with confidence to venture on a larger scale. The Lee privateer, under the direction of captain Manly, took an ordnance vessel from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, warlike tools, utensils, and machines; a cargo so appropriate, that, had congress sent an order for supplies, they could not have made a list of articles more suitable to their present wants. Scarcely had the first joyful impressions caused by this relief subsided, when Manly gave additional proofs of successful vigilance. Within a few days, he captured three other vessels, laden with various stores from England, and one ship from Antigua, with rum. Invigorated by this promise of important aid from a new field of enterprise, congress determined to create a national marine; and gave orders for building five vessels of thirty-two, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four guns, each.

About this time, one of the sea-port towns of Massachusetts suffered a melancholy devastation. Falmouth, containing upwards of four hundred dwelling-houses and stores, was totally destroyed, by shells and red-hot shot; thrown into it without intermission, during a whole day, from a ship of eighteen guns, commanded by captain Moet.

The seizure of Ticonderoga and other places on the lakes adjoining Canada, in which enterprise, colonel Arnold bore a distinguished part, has been already mentioned. Encouraged by the success of his first essay in the field, this ambitious officer lost no time in projecting more extensive operations. He wrote a letter to congress, strongly urging an expedition into Canada, and offering, with two thousand men, to reduce the whole province. In his zeal to oppose Great Britain, or satiate his desire of glory, he had advised the adoption of offensive war, even before congress had organized an army, or appointed a single officer. His importunity, however, together with a belief that the Canadians were, in general, discontented with their government, induced that body to adopt his daring project. But, though they acquiesced in his opinion, they did not invest him with the command. The arrangements in the northern department were committed to generals Schuyler and Montgome-

ry: the former was stationed at Albany, to conclude a treaty with the Indians; the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New York and New England.

The nearest British post in Canada was St. John's; situated about a hundred miles to the north of Ticonderoga: which, since the fall of the latter and Crownpoint, was justly considered as the key of that province. Against this, Montgomery erected a battery; but, on account of the scarcity of ammunition, was not likely to succeed in its reduction, until, by the capture of fort Chamblee, a post a few miles below St. John's, on the same river, he obtained a large supply of powder. In the meantime, a British force, in number about eight hundred, chiefly Indians and militia, when attempting to relieve St. John's, by crossing the river St. Lawrence opposite to Louqueil, were compelled to retire with considerable loss, by three hundred Green Mountain men, under the command of colonel Warner. This affair decided the fate of the besieged. Five hundred regulars and one hundred Canadians surrendered to Montgomery; with forty-eight pieces of artillery, and eight hundred stand of arms. The advantage gained by the invaders was, however, in a small degree lessened, by the capture of the brave colonel Allen and a party of eighty men, when on a tour of observation, near Montreal. But the enemy were allowed only a short period to enjoy the satisfaction of this trifling acquisition. Pursuing his good fortune, general Montgomery immediately appeared before Montreal, and, on the 13th of November, obtained a surrender of the place, together with general Prescott and the garrison: besides eleven sail of vessels, laden with ammunition, provisions, intrenching tools, and every thing required for the clothing and comfort of his army. General Carleton, the commander in chief and governor of Canada, very narrowly escaped being taken. Being blockaded in that part of the St. Lawrence which lies between the city and the mouth of the river Sorel, he threw himself into a boat, and, aided by muffled oars and the obscurity of the night, had the good fortune to pass the American guards.

After leaving some troops in Montreal, Montgomery, with little more than three hundred men, proceeded for the capital, Quebec. But his situation was now very embarrassing. "Much to be pitied," observes a cotemporary writer, "is the officer, who, having been bred to arms in the strict discipline of regular armies, is afterwards called



to command men who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field. The greater part of the Americans, officers as well as privates, having never before seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and feebly impressed with the military ideas of union, subordination, and discipline. They were soon tired of a military life. Novelty, and the first impulse of passion, had led them to the camp; but the approaching cold season, together with the fatigues and dangers incident to war, induced a general wish to relinquish the service. Though, by the terms of enlistment, they were to be discharged in a few weeks, they could not, even for that short space of time, bear an absence from their homes."

About the same time that Canada was invaded by the usual route from New York, a considerable detachment of the American army was brought thither by a new and unexpected passage. Arnold, who conducted this bold undertaking, acquired, thereby, the name of the American Hannibal. He was sent, by general Washington, with a thousand men, from Cambridge; with orders to penetrate into that province by ascending the river Kennebeck, and then, after crossing the mountains which divide Canada from Maine, by descending the Chaudiere, to the St. Lawrence. Great were the difficulties, and severe the deprivations, they had to encounter, in marching, three hundred miles, by an unexplored way, through an uninhabited country. In ascending the Kennebeck, they were constantly obliged to struggle against an impetuous current; were often compelled, by cataracts, to land, and haul their batteaux up rapid streams, and over falls of rivers. They had to contend with swamps, woods, and craggy mountains. At some places, they had to cut their way, for miles together, through forests, so embarrassed, that their progress was only four or five miles a day. One third of their number were, from sickness and want of food, obliged to return. Provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, cartouch-boxes, leather small-clothes, and shoes. Still, they proceeded with unabated fortitude. They gloried in the hope of completing a march which would rival the greatest exploits of antiquity; and, on the third of November, after thirty-one days spent in traversing a hideous desert, they reached the inhabited parts of Canada, where, the people, struck with amazement and admiration when they saw this armed force emerging from the

wilderness, received them with kind attention, and supplied them with every thing requisite for their comfort.

A manifesto, subscribed by general Washington, which had been sent with this detachment, was circulated amongst the Canadians. They were informed, that the American army came, not as enemies, but friends; not to plunder, but to protect them: and were invited to arrange themselves under the common standard of security and freedom.

So favourable were the prospects of the united colonies at this period, that general Montgomery began to form a regiment of Canadians. James Livingston, a native of New York, who had long resided in Canada, was appointed to command them. The inhabitants, on both sides of the river, were very friendly. Expresses, in the employment of the Americans, continued to pass without molestation between Montreal and Quebec; before which place, Arnold had now arrived. Many individuals performed important services in favour of the invaders. Amongst those, Mr. Price stands conspicuous; having advanced them, in gold and silver money, five thousand pounds.

On the 13th of November, the fifth night after his appearance before Quebec, Arnold crossed the St. Lawrence; in hopes of entering the fortress by assault. But his chance of succeeding, by this mode, was, in that short space of time, greatly diminished. The critical moment, by unavoidable delay, was then lost; the panic, occasioned by his first appearance, had abated; and solid preparations were made for its defence; wherefore, having no artillery, after surmounting the craggy precipice which had been ascended by general Wolfe, and drawing up his little band near the plains of Abraham, he withdrew; and, until the arrival of Montgomery, aimed at nothing more than to cut off supplies from the garrison.

This officer at length joined the blockading army, summoned the garrison to surrender, without effect, soon afterwards commenced a bombardment, and opened a six-gun battery: but his metal was too light. Defended by the united fortifications of art and nature, Quebec, the last Canadian post remaining to the British, stood uninjured. Animated by the presence, and directed by the counsel of the governor, sir Guy Carleton, the garrison could not be wearied to submission. The fate of the besiegers was becoming dangerous. Towards the end of the year, the tide of fortune began to turn. Dissensions threatened the annihilation of discipline; resources were every day declining; fa

tigue weakened the bodies, and depressed the spirits of the men. Difficulties of every kind were rapidly increasing. The alternatives must be decided, of immediate retreat, or an attempt to enter the place by storm. Montgomery determined on the latter; though it was an undertaking in which success was barely possible, and despair seemed triumphant over hope.

The garrison numbered fifteen hundred, the assailants only eight hundred men. Having divided this little force into four detachments, he ordered two feints to be made against the upper town; one, by colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; the other, by major Brown, against Cape Diamond: reserving to himself and colonel Arnold the two principal attacks against the lower town. On the last day of the year, at four o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a heavy storm of snow, the columns were put in motion. Montgomery passed the first barrier; but, when attacking the second, was killed, and his division was led back. Arnold, being severely wounded, was carried off the field: yet his party, placed under the conduct of captain (afterwards general) Morgan, contended amidst the works for three hours, until overpowered by superior numbers. One hundred Americans were killed, and three hundred made prisoners.

Few men have fallen in battle so much regretted, by both sides, as general Montgomery. He had engaged in the American cause from principle; and left the enjoyment of an easy fortune, in Ireland, and the highest domestic happiness, to take an active share in the dangers and fatigues of a war, instituted to defend a community of which he was an adopted member.

Although the besiegers were so much weakened as to be scarcely equal to their own defence, Arnold, who succeeded Montgomery in the command, had the boldness to encamp within three miles of the town, and the address, even with his reduced numbers, to impede the conveyance of provisions into the garrison. His situation was extremely difficult. His men were exposed, in the open air, when the snow lay four feet deep, and the rigours of a Canada winter assailed them with a severity beyond any degree which they had before experienced.

1776 But the failure of this enterprise did not extinguish the ardour of their countrymen. They yet retained hopes of reducing in that quarter the English power. General Washington arranged measures to embody for the ser-



vice of the north three regiments in New Hampshire; and congress resolved to forward the re-enforcements previously voted, as well as to raise four battalions in New York. That the army might be supplied with blankets for this winter expedition, a committee was appointed to procure, from householders, all that could be spared from their families. To obtain a supply of hard money, proper persons were employed to exchange paper notes for coin; and such was the enthusiasm of the times, that many thousand silver dollars were frequently given at par for the bills of congress. No means of insuring success were overlooked. The cause of the Americans had received so powerful aid from the publications in their own gazettes, and from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, which connected the cause of liberty with the animating sentiments of religion, that it was determined to employ those two powerful engines of revolution, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadians. Accordingly, a printer and a clergyman, with a complete apparatus, were sent into that province; also Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and the Reverend Mr. John Carroll, of Maryland, a respectable clergyman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, (the prevailing doctrine of that country,) to invigorate the seeds of revolution; by promising that Canada should be received into the colonial association on equal terms, that the inhabitants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the quiet possession of their ecclesiastical estates.

Yet, notwithstanding all these exertions to support the war in Canada, their interest there, after the fall of Montgomery, gradually declined. Their unsuccessful assault on Quebec, made an impression, both on the Canadians and Indians, unfavourable to their views; and the reduction of that place now seemed an object to which their resources were inadequate. The inhabitants listened with jealous diffidence to the declarations in favour of protecting their religion. They reverted, with philosophic caution, to the early breaches of civil faith amongst their neighbours, in New England, and the stubborn animosity which theological collision, had every where produced. To render still weaker the chances of success, the small-pox found its way throughout the invading army; and, owing to the limited practice of early inoculation at that period, was a serious calamity. It reduced their effective number from three thousand, to nine hundred men. Whilst the forces of the one party were thus decreasing, and their spirit sinking by

disease, those of the other were recruiting, their energies and hopes reviving. Determined to recover, without delay, the ground which they had lost, the British government suffered not a moment to elapse, after intelligence of these events arrived, before they despatched a numerous re-enforcement for its relief; and, early in May, the van of this body made its way up the river St. Lawrence, through the ice. The besiegers immediately made preparations to retreat. Carleton led out a detachment to attack them, and got possession of all their cannon and military stores: which, in their confusion, they had abandoned. Thus, at the end of five months' operations, the siege was raised; after a display of fortitude and perseverance, which reflects the highest honour on the officers and privates of both armies.

From an enemy, the conduct of general Carleton merits distinguished praise. To the abilities of the accomplished soldier, by which he fulfilled an arduous duty to his country, he superadded the amiable qualities of a generous foe. The numerous sick in the American hospitals, unavoidably deserted by their companions, he cherished with most tender care: he fed and clothed them, and, when recovered, permitted them to return; and, by a humane proclamation, removed the fears of those who might possibly be scattered in the woods; recommending them to go home, and apply themselves again to the peaceful labour of their farms.

When the retreating army had reached the Sorel, and thrown up some slight works for their defence, they were joined by a few battalions who were marching to re-enforce them. General Thomas, the American commander in chief in Canada, having died, his commission devolved on Arnold, now advanced to the same rank: and afterwards on general Sullivan. But, notwithstanding their increase of numbers, it soon became evident that they must abandon the entire province; yet, from a desire of doing something which would counterbalance, in the minds of the Canadians, the injurious effects of their retreat, an attack, planned by general Thompson, was made on the British post at the Three Rivers. The assailants, however, were repulsed; Thompson and two hundred men were made prisoners, and about twenty-five were killed. Soon afterwards, Carleton, at the head of the main body of the enemy, arrived, and commenced a serious pursuit. The retreat, nevertheless, was conducted by general Sullivan, with so much industry and judgment, that the baggage, cannon, and military stores, were brought off, and the numerous sick escorted to Crown

Point; where he arrived on the 1st of July, and made his first stand.

At this period of the contest in the north, it becomes necessary to view the transactions, which, in the meantime, had occurred at home. The first province that demands attention, is Virginia. The inhabitants in that quarter, though there was not a British soldier within its limits, were involved, by the indiscretion of its governor, lord Dunmore, in difficulties, little short of those which had assailed the people of Massachusetts. This officer, aided by a party from a royal vessel in James' River, having conveyed the powder from the colonial magazine at Williamsburg, by which conduct he brought upon himself the indignant fury of the people, threatened, in case of farther opposition, to enfranchise the negroes, and arm them against their former masters. This irritated, but did not intimidate. A body of gentlemen, headed by Patrick Henry, compelled him to pay the value of the powder; and so alarmed him, that he was induced to send his lady and family on board a man-of-war, and surround his palace with artillery. Affairs, thenceforward, grew daily more tempestuous. He retired from his dangerous habitation; with the aid of the royalists, runaway negroes, and some frigates, established a marine force, ravaged plantations, and at length attempted to destroy Hampton by a cannonade; but was driven off by the riflemen stationed on the shore. In a few days from this, he entered Norfolk; but, after a skirmish at the great bridge, in which a party of British grenadiers were defeated by the provincials, he abandoned the town, and again retired with his motley forces on board his ships. Norfolk, however, survived only a short time this triumph over the royal governor. Provisions being withheld from the king's vessels in the harbour, the town, with all the property which it contained, amounting in the whole to more than a million of dollars, was, on the 1st of January, reduced to ashes.

Nor was the adjoining colony of North Carolina exempted from disturbance; though of less serious amount. The governor's party, there, was soon defeated, and he himself compelled to follow the example of Dunmore, by retiring on board a ship. Similar retreats were made by the royal governors of the other colonies; except by Mr. Trumbull, of Connecticut, who espoused the American cause; and, before the year expired, the regal authority had entirely ceased throughout the union.



All this time, the British troops at Boston were suffering the inconvenience of a blockade; and the blockading forces were equally uneasy for want of employment. Accustomed to industry and motion on their farms, the latter could not patiently bear the inactivity and confinement of a camp. Fiery spirits declaimed in favour of an assault: they preferred a thoughtless enterprise, which might bring immediate glory, to passive fortitude and distant victory. To be in readiness for the attempt, a council of war recommended the assembling of seven thousand militia; which, added to the regular army before Boston, would have made a force of about seventeen thousand men. But the Americans still laboured under a scarcity of arms and ammunition. Though great exertions had been made to manufacture gunpowder, and to collect arms throughout the interior, the supply was slow and inadequate. The eyes of all were now fixed on general Washington; who, it was, notwithstanding, expected, would, by a bold exertion, free Boston from the English troops. The dangerous situation of public affairs had led him to conceal his real deficiency of means; and, with that magnanimity which distinguishes the virtuous patriot, but is often absent even from the brave, to suffer his character to be assailed, sooner than vindicate himself by exposing his army's weakness. There were not wanting persons, who, judging from the superior number of his men, asserted, that if he were not desirous, like the Marlborough of England, to prolong his importance at the head of an army, he might, by a vigorous attack, drive the enemy from Boston. Such insinuations were reported, and, by several, believed. But they were uncontradicted by Washington; who chose to risk his fame, rather than expose the lives of his soldiers and the liberties of his country.

The patient vigilance of the correct general at length gained a bloodless victory. Alarmed by the appearance of the besiegers on Dorchester heights, which, on the night of the 4th of March, had been fortified, under cover of a bombardment and cannonade, sir William Howe, leaving behind a large quantity of artillery and other munitions of war, evacuated Boston on the 17th, and sailed with his troops to Halifax. His retreat was not impeded by the blockading army; lest an attack, at that period, might have caused him to burn the town. The embarkation of the British troops was scarcely finished, when general Washington with his army entered; amidst marks of approbation and rejoicing more flattering than a Roman triumph.

For some months past, every exertion had been made to place South Carolina, and especially its capital, Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. Works were accordingly erected upon Sullivan's island; which is situated so near the channel, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels when attempting to approach the town. These proved a judicious precaution. The place had soon to withstand a formidable attack. On the 28th of June, a British admiral, sir Peter Parker, entered the harbour, with six frigates and four smaller ships of war; mounting in the whole, two hundred and seventy guns, and having on board three thousand land-troops, under the command of sir Henry Clinton. To oppose these, the fort had thirty-six guns, consisting of eighteen, twenty-four, and forty-two, pounders, manned by about four hundred militia and soldiers of the line, commanded by colonel Moultrie. This small garrison made a most gallant and effectual defence. They fired with deliberation; for the most part took aim; and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces; the killed and wounded on board exceeded two hundred men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed and twenty-two wounded. The fort being built of palmetto, was little damaged: the shot which struck it was buried in its soft wood. Colonel Thompson, with seven hundred men, was stationed at the east end of the island, to oppose the crossing of a British division, which had landed on Long Island, in their rear; but, to effect that, no serious attempt was made. The firing ceased in the evening; the vessels slipped their cables; before morning, they had retired about two miles; and, in a few days, the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York.

Two grand objects of the British armaments were decided; one, to relieve Canada, which had been successful; the other, to make a strong impression in the south, which ended in defeat. A third remained to be determined,—the possession of New York. The command of the force designed to operate against the latter, was given to admiral lord Howe, and his brother, general sir William Howe; officers, who, as well from their individual characters, as the known bravery of their family, stood high in ministerial confidence, and were commissioned either to subdue by the power of arms, or end the war by negotiation. The army amounted to thirty thousand men; a force which exceeded any before seen in America, and was, besides, supported by a numerous fleet.

On their approach, the enemy found every part of New York Island, and the most exposed parts of Long Island, fortified, and well defended by artillery. About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island; which had not been so much an object of protection. The inhabitants of this place, either through fear, or affection, or policy, expressed great joy on their arrival; and many of them, joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey, were embodied as a royal militia.

But, whatever might be the hopes of Britain to obtain a more absolute dominion over her colonies, by arms, the time had now passed when even the ancient connexion could be retained, by negotiation. Offers of pardon were not less insulting than inappropriate. A new era had arisen in the west. The link, which had, for ages, bound England to her rising progeny, was, by the corroding influence of evil ministers, severed from its ancient hold. The chain which had stretched its political *radii*, to their common centre in Great Britain, now assumed a fresh arrangement, by attaching together the children in resistance to the parent. On the 4th of July, a few days after the arrival of this great armament, the congress at Philadelphia agreed on a declaration of INDEPENDENCE; thereby, absolving the colonies from every allegiance to the crown of England. The motion for this purpose, first made on the 7th of June, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts, in conformity with the particular instructions of the former's constituents and the general voice of all the states, was decided by an almost unanimous vote.

“WHEN, in the course of human events,” says this celebrated document,—“it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that, among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that,



whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

“He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby, the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the state remaining, in the

meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

“He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

“He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

“He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

“He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation; for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: for protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states: for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world: for imposing taxes on us without our consent: for depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury: for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences: for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies: for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments: for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and

tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation; and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war, in peace friends.

“We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reli-



ance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."\*

## CHAPTER VII.

*Continuation of the war. Success of the Americans. Peace of Paris.*

IT had early occurred to general Washington, that the possession of New York would be with the British a favourite object. Its central situation, and contiguity to the ocean, might enable them to carry the war to any part of the sea-coast. Its acquisition was rendered still more valuable, by the ease with which it could be maintained. Surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number

\* This declaration was composed by Thomas Jefferson; member of a committee appointed for the purpose. It was signed in the State-house, at Philadelphia, in a chamber of the right wing, on the ground floor; the first which you enter from the centre hall of that building.

A painting, commemorative of this great event, in which are drawn the persons of its illustrious authors, (whose names are here recorded,) in their position at the time of its being presented by the committee for the approval of congress, has been drawn by an American artist, colonel Trumbull; and placed, in 1819, in the capitol at Washington.

John Hancock, President. Charles Thomson, Secretary.

*New Hampshire*; Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton. *Massachusetts*; Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry. *Rhode Island, &c.* Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery. *Connecticut*; Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott. *New York*; William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris. *New Jersey*; Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark. *Pennsylvania*; Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross. *Delaware*; Caesar Rodney, George Reed. *Maryland*; Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. *Virginia*; George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson junior, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton. *North Carolina*; William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn. *South Carolina*; Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, junior, Thomas Lynch, junior; Arthur Middleton. *Georgia*; Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

Of these, the only survivors, at the time of publishing the third edition of this history, in 1822, were John Adams, Charles Carroll, Thomas Jefferson, and Charles Thomson.

of British ships, against adversaries whose whole navy consisted only of a few frigates; and Hudson's river, being navigable for vessels of the largest size, to a great distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the other states, and of almost preventing between them any communication.

In proportion to the desire which general Washington judged that the British felt for the possession of New York, did this sagacious officer direct his attention to its defence. He had, in April, fixed his head quarters in that city, and given it all the strength that wisdom could invent or industry accomplish. He made a new distribution of the army: leaving a part in Massachusetts, ordering a small division to Canada, but drawing the greatest portion into New York. Thus, although he now laboured to secure this important place, he was not forgetful of the other districts of his country. His comprehensive mind embraced, in one view, the condition of the whole; and his experience taught him the most effectual method of preserving them. He determined on a "war of posts;" the best suited to the condition of his infant troops, and the least adapted to the interest of his enemy: as, while it increased the confidence of the one, it retarded the operations of the other, by continual alarm.

The enemy resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island; a position more advantageous than that on which the city stood, as it abounded with fresh provisions. On the 22d of August, they landed without opposition between two villages, Utrecht and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula; having Wallabout Bay on the left, Red Hook, to which they extended, on the right, and East River, in the rear. General Sullivan, to whom was entrusted the defence of the island, was encamped with a strong force within these works, at Brooklyn. The passes leading through the hills were all guarded, and a battalion of riflemen observed the motions of the British.

General Heister, with his Hessian auxiliaries in English pay, took post at Flatbush; and, on the following morning, the 27th, general Clinton gained possession of a height commanding one of the defiles. The guard fled, without making any resistance. Early on the 28th, an attack was made by the Hessians, and by another body under general Grant; which was well supported for a considerable time, on both sides. The Americans who opposed general Heister were the first informed of the approach of Clinton, who had come round upon their left. They immediately began a

retreat to their camp; but were intercepted by the latter; who, having gained their rear, attacked them with his light infantry and dragoons. The Americans were driven back, until met by the Hessians; and were thus chased, alternately, by two parties. Some of the regiments, however, found their way to the camp. The Americans, under lord Stirling, consisting of colonel Miles's two battalions, Atlee's, Smallwood's, and Hatch's regiments, who were opposed to general Grant, fought with great resolution, for about six hours. But, from their total want of cavalry, being ignorant of the movements made by general Clinton, until some of his troops had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear, their retreat was intercepted. Several, notwithstanding, broke through, and got into the woods; and a considerable number escaped to the lines. Many, however, were drowned, and others perished in the mud.

The king's troops displayed great valour throughout the whole day. The variety of ground occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughters, which lasted many hours. British discipline, however, in every instance triumphed over the mere bravery of raw forces: who had never been in any action, and whose officers were unacquainted with the stratagems of war.

The loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, or, as it is concisely termed by the French, the number placed *hors de combat*, was four hundred and fifty. That of the Americans was above a thousand. Amongst the prisoners taken of the latter, were two generals, Sullivan and Stirling, and eighty-two other officers, including every rank.

During the retreat, general Washington had brought over re-enforcements to the scene of action; and, after he had collected his principal force there, it was his wish and hope that sir William Howe would attempt to storm his works. But the remembrance of Breed's-hill, restrained the British general from an assault. On the contrary, he made demonstrations of a siege, and opened trenches within three hundred yards, to the left, at Putnam's redoubt. Though general Washington had wished for an immediate assault, yet, being certain that his works would be untenable when the British batteries were fully opened, he called a council of war, to determine on the most proper measures. It being resolved, that the objects in view were in no degree proportioned to the dangers, to which, by a continuation on the island, they would be exposed, dispositions were made



for retreating. This commenced soon after it was dark; from two points, the upper and lower ferries on East river. General M'Dougal regulated the embarkation at one; colonel Knox, at the other. Never was any movement more skilfully ordered, conducted with more consummate address, or more highly favoured by the aid of Providence. The field-artillery, tents, baggage, and about nine thousand men, were conveyed to New York, over a river upwards of a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours; and without the knowledge of the British, though not distant six hundred yards. The wind seemed, in one place, to change according to their wants; and, in another, a fog veiled them from the hostile view. Half an hour after general Mifflin, with the rear guard, had left the lines, they were entered by the British.

Not rightly appreciating the spirit of the American leaders, which was not subdued, but made more resolute, by defeat, lord Howe considered the late reverse as favourable to promote submission; and, accordingly, sent general Sullivan, already mentioned amongst the prisoners, with a message to the congress. In a few days, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were deputed to have an interview with the British general, on Staten Island. They were politely received; but there arose no approximation towards a peace. When concluding, lord Howe expressed to Dr. Franklin, with whom, a mutual friendship had for some time before existed, the extreme pain he would suffer, in being obliged to distress those that he so much regarded. "I feel thankful to your lordship," replied Franklin, "for your regard. The Americans will show their gratitude, by endeavouring to lessen the pain you may feel on their account, in exerting their utmost abilities to take good care of themselves."

It was happy for the cause of freedom, that a principle, yet higher than that which often animates the common soldier to maintain his post, actuated the superior officers entrusted with its defence. The army became universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies, and the regulars were infected by the example. The situation of those generous leaders, who knew no fear, except in the prospective ruin of their country; who offered every thing, but honour, a sacrifice to avert its degradation; cannot be described. How must the heart of Washington have been wrung with anguish! To retreat, subjected him to animadversions, painful to bear. yet impolitic to refute. To stand

his ground, and thus hazard the fate of America, on one engagement, in which fortune might decide, was contrary to every rational plan of defending his extensive charge. A middle line, between abandoning and defending, was, therefore, for a while adopted. The public stores were removed to Dobbs's ferry, about twenty-six miles distant: twelve thousand men were ordered to the northern extremity of New York island; four thousand five hundred remained to defend the city, and the rest were stationed within the intermediate space, to act as occasion might require.

The same short-sighted politicians who had before censured general Washington for his caution, in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed the clamours against him for this system of evacuation and retreat. But the same wisdom which had then devised it as the best, now confirmed his resolution to maintain it. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that these measures were the most advantageous to his country, he again voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a passing cloud.

General Howe pursued his object with unabating diligence. Having prepared every thing for a descent on New York island, he landed his men near Turtle-bay. The Americans instantly fell back; and though some detachments, under the command of colonel Knowlton of Connecticut and major Leitch of Virginia, the former of whom was killed and the latter wounded, had fairly beaten their immediate adversaries from the field, yet it became necessary to evacuate the city. On the 12th of October, it was entered by a brigade of the enemy. They had been only a few days in possession, when a dreadful fire broke out, which consumed a thousand houses. The Americans took a position on the north end of the island; but, soon afterwards, left three thousand men in Fort Washington, near Kingsbridge, and retired. The royal army followed, in two columns: and, after sustaining a considerable loss, by the fire of a party which general Lee had posted behind a wall, halted with the Bronx in front: upon which, the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains; where they formed intrenchments. A severe action took place, and several hundreds fell. The British were commanded by general Leslie; the Americans, by general M'Dougal.

Soon afterwards, general Washington changed his front; his left wing standing fast, whilst his right fell back to some contiguous hills. In this position, an admirable one for de-

fence, he both desired and expected an attack; but general Howe having declined it, and drawn off his forces to Dobbs's ferry, the Americans retired to Northcastle.

Leaving seven thousand men under general Lee, Washington crossed Hudson River, into New Jersey, and took a position in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. In the meantime, sir William Howe commenced the reduction of Fort Washington. On the 16th of November, the royal army attacked in four divisions: the first was led by general Kniphausen; the second, by general Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis; the third was under the direction of colonel Stirling; and the fourth, commanded by lord Percy. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, under colonel Magaw. Their outworks being carried, their defenders crowded into the fort, and the whole surrendered prisoners of war. The loss of the assailants was considerable. Their killed and wounded, from the fire of the garrison, and of Rawling's corps of riflemen stationed in a wood through which one of their divisions passed, were at least twelve hundred.

Shortly afterwards, lord Cornwallis crossed over to the Jersey shore, and captured Fort Lee, with all its artillery and stores; the garrison having been saved by a previous evacuation. General Washington then retreated to Newark. But he saw no hopes of being able to remain even there. He feared that he would be compelled to retire still farther. "Should we retreat," said he, addressing colonel Reed, "to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the inhabitants support us?" The colonel replied, that if the lower counties were subdued, and surrendered, the upper districts would do the same. "We must retire, then," rejoined Washington, "to Augusta county, in Virginia: numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains."

But the general's situation became yet more distressing. The term for which his army had enlisted was on the point of expiring: the British commander offered pardon and reward to all who would, within sixty days, desert the colonial interest: and, when it was expected that he would withdraw to winter quarters, pursued the diminished army in its retreat. Lord Cornwallis, at the head of six thousand regulars, was so close behind general Washington, as he retired, during nineteen days, with about three thousand undisciplined troops, to Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, that the rear of the one army



pulling down bridges, was often within shot of the other's van, hastening to repair them.

Scarcely one of the people joined the retreating army, whilst numbers were daily flocking to the royal standard, to obtain forgiveness and protection. Not only the lower classes changed sides in this gloomy season of adversity, but some of the leading men in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, particularly Mr. Gallaway and Mr. Allen, two members of congress, adopted the same dastardly expedient, and declared themselves, at all times, averse to independence. Every thing seemed tending to colonial overthrow. General Lee, one of the most distinguished continental officers, was taken prisoner; a dispirited half-clad army was on the eve of being disbanded; the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of warfare, and congress removed for safety to Baltimore.

In proportion as difficulties increased, that assembly redoubled their exertions. They addressed the states in animated language; recommended them to appoint a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, invested Washington with extraordinary powers, and endeavoured to obtain assistance from foreign nations.

These judicious measures in the cabinet were accompanied with proportionate vigour in the field. A bold enterprise was formed by Washington, of re-crossing into Jersey, and attacking those parties of the enemy which were stationed at Burlington, Bordenton, and Trenton. In the evening of Christmas day, he made arrangements for passing the Delaware in three divisions; two under the respective orders of generals Cadwalader and Ewing, and one division to be directed by himself. But, owing to the quantity of broken ice, only the main body, commanded by Washington, succeeded in its purpose, at M'Konkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton; and the passage even of this was so retarded, that it was three o'clock in the morning before the artillery was landed. On arriving in Jersey, this party was arranged in two divisions; one commanded by general Sullivan, the other by general Greene, aided by Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair; who were ordered to proceed to Trenton by different roads, and charge the enemy before they had time to form. At eight o'clock, they reached the advanced posts, within three minutes of each other. The outguards of the Hessian troops soon fell back, but kept up a retreating fire; their main body, after losing half their artillery, and finding themselves surrounded, laid down their

arms. The detachment in Trenton consisted of fifteen hundred German infantry, and a troop of British cavalry: of whom, forty were killed or wounded, and nine hundred taken prisoners; the remainder, about six hundred, having escaped towards Bordenton. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, a relation of the commander in chief, and five or six other Americans, were wounded: two were killed, and two or three frozen to death.

History affords not many examples superior to this master-stroke in the art of war. Nothing seemed more improbable than such an attempt, to the commander in chief of that district. When colonel Rahl, the officer in Trenton, sent to his superior, general Grant, for a cautionary re-enforcement, "Tell the colonel," he replied, "he is very safe. I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey with a corporal's guard."

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening after his victory, conceived it the most prudent to re-cross into Pennsylvania, with his prisoners. These being secured, he returned to Trenton. The enemy, as might have been expected, did not allow him to remain long undisturbed. Their detachments, which had been cantoned over Jersey previous to the capture of the Hessians, assembled immediately at Princeton; where they were joined by the army from Brunswick, under lord Cornwallis.

1777 From this position, they proceeded, on the 2d of January, towards Trenton; hoping, by a vigorous onset, to repair the injury sustained by the late defeat. About four in the afternoon, they encountered a party of the Americans, posted with four field-pieces a little to the northward of the latter, and compelled them to retreat. This advantage, however, was only for a short time retained. They were checked by some artillery, stationed on the opposite banks of Assanpinck creek, fell back out of the reach of the shot, and halted for the night.

Truly critical, however, was the situation of the American army. A retreat would endanger Philadelphia, the capital of the infant union: an action with a superior force, whilst a river lay behind, was dangerous and imprudent. But the genius of the commander suggested a relief, by which not only defeat might be averted, but victory obtained. He determined to get round the advanced party of the

enemy, and attack them in the rear. Soon after it became dark, he ordered the baggage to be silently removed: when, leaving guards, as well as kindling fires, for the purpose of deception, he marched, by a circuitous route, to Princeton. This place, situated about ten miles distant towards the north, he reached early in the morning; and would have completely surprised the British there, had not a party, on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, and sent back couriers to give an alarm. The royalists, consisting of three regiments of infantry, an artillery corps with two field-pieces, and three troops of light dragoons, charged the centre of the Americans, on their march. The latter gave way in disorder. The danger was extreme. Washington instantly rushed forward. He placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans made a stand; returned the enemy's fire; and the general, though exposed on both sides, escaped unhurt. A party of the enemy fled into the college, and surrendered.

In the course of the engagement, sixty of their number were killed, many more wounded, and three hundred made prisoners. The rest eluded capture; some, by pushing on towards Trenton: others, by returning towards Brunswick. The American loss was numerically small: but amongst the killed were some valuable officers; particularly, general Mercer, a native of Scotland; who, like Montgomery, was amiable in private life, brave and experienced in the field.

Whilst they were engaged in Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, chiding the tardy coming of the dawn; which, with confident anticipation, was to light them to easy conquest: for, with so much address had the stratagem been conducted, that general Washington went completely off the ground, with his entire force, stores, baggage, and artillery, unobserved and unsuspected. When the British heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they believed it to be thunder: and so great was their consternation, at these unexpected movements, that the whole immediately retreated to New Brunswick and Amboy.

During the late occupation, New Jersey had suffered dreadfully, in the waste of property and insults upon the inhabitants. The soldiers of the royal army, particularly the Hessians, had unloosed the reins of every selfish, ferocious, and brutal passion, of human nature. Their officers



could not restrain them: friends and foes, loyalists and republicans, all shared a common fate.

Seldom, however, there happens an evil, without a concomitant or succeeding good. That whole country now became hostile to the invaders. The militia of New Jersey, who hitherto, had behaved most disgracefully, from this time forward, redeemed their character; and evinced a spirit and discipline equal in many respects to what distinguishes regular soldiers.

During those winter movements, both armies suffered extraordinary hardships; but the Americans underwent the greatest. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground; which so gashed their feet, that their steps were marked with blood. They were miserably deficient in blankets, and almost wholly destitute of tents. Yet, in this situation, the American army, which, after the affair at Princeton, had retired to Morristown, were inoculated; and, as very few, either of the officers or privates, ever had had the small-pox, the disorder was nearly universal. It had previously spread amongst them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many: but, after inoculation was introduced, the fatality was small; and the effect so gentle, that, from the beginning, there was not a single day in which they could not have exchanged the situation of invalid for that of soldier, and appeared in arms against the English.

The campaign of one year had not ended, until carried into the first month of the succeeding. For some time, however, there had existed a state of comparative inactivity. Since the battle of Princeton, the operations extended not beyond a few skirmishes; unimportant in themselves, yet productive of future benefit. At Springfield, a small party of Germans were beaten by an equal number of Jersey militia, under colonel Spencer. Near Somerset courthouse, general Dickinson, with four hundred of the same description, and fifty Pennsylvania riflemen, defeated a large foraging party, and obtained possession of their convoy. Colonel Barton, desirous of retaliating the capture of general Lee, embarked with forty militia, in whale-boats, surprised general Prescott at his quarters between Newport and Bristol ferry, in Rhode Island, and brought him to the main land. General Putnam was eminently useful, in guarding the army against surprise; and so much vigilance was every where displayed, that sir William Howe was confined to limits so narrow, as would not, had a purchaser

been found, have re-imbursed the expense of the attainment.

Hitherto, the Americans were deficient in arms and ammunition, as well as in men: but in the spring, they received from France twenty thousand stand of arms and a thousand barrels of powder.

Before the royal army took the field, in prosecution of the main business of the campaign, they accomplished two enterprises, for the destruction of American stores. At Peekskill, about fifty miles from New York, they captured or destroyed a considerable quantity of necessary articles; which had been collected there, notwithstanding the orders given by general Washington to the commissaries, not to allow a large accumulation of provisions near the water. At Danbury, the Americans lost sixteen hundred barrels of pork and flour, two thousand bushels of corn, and seventeen hundred tents. On returning to their ships, the British were attacked, at Ridgefield, by a party hastily collected, under generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, and suffered a loss, in killed and wounded, of two or three hundred men. The Americans had twenty killed; amongst whom, was the brave general Wooster; who, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. Not long after, colonel Meigs, one of the intrepid companions of Arnold in the expedition to Canada, led a detachment of one hundred and seventy men, in whale-boats, to Long Island; burned twelve British vessels, with a large quantity of forage, in Sagg-Harbour, killed six soldiers, and brought off ninety prisoners, without losing a single man.

As the season advanced, the American army in New Jersey was re-enforced by successive arrivals of recruits; nevertheless, at the opening of the campaign, in the beginning of June, it amounted only to seven thousand men.

General Washington, having left his winter-quarters at Morristown, took a strong position at Middlebrook. Sir William Howe marched from Brunswick, and extended his van as far as Somerset court-house; but, in a few days, was constrained to resume his former station. He then endeavoured to provoke general Washington to engage; leaving no manœuvre untried to induce him to quit his post. At length, convinced of the impossibility of compelling a battle, on equal terms, and aware of the danger of crossing the Delaware whilst the Americans were in his rear, he proceeded to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island; resolved to pursue the objects of the

campaign by another route. His real designs were involved in obscurity. Washington was much embarrassed. The enemy seemed, at one time, moving to the south; at another, to the north. At last, on the 23d of July, their main body departed from Sandy Hook, and were reported to steer to the southward. A letter from sir William Howe to general Burgoyne, then stationed in Canada, was intercepted, which mentioned that they were steering to New Hampshire. But the deception was so superficially veiled, that, in conjunction with some particulars attending the embarkation, it removed the uncertainty from the mind of Washington, instead of misleading him to an opposite direction. Within an hour after receiving the letter, he gave orders for marching to the south. But he was yet so much impressed with a conviction that it was the true interest of Howe to form a junction with Burgoyne, that he ordered his army to halt for some time at the Delaware; suspecting that the southern movement was a feint, intended to draw him farther from the Hudson.

The British fleet was a week at sea, before it reached Cape Henlopen. Here, sir William Howe, being informed that the passage of the Delaware was obstructed, gave up his original intention of reaching Philadelphia by ascending that river, and resolved on a circuitous route, by the Chesapeake. From Henlopen, he had a tedious passage. Though the distance, in a direct line, is only about forty leagues, twenty days elapsed before he entered the capes of Virginia. He proceeded up the bay with a favourable wind, and landed his troops, sixteen thousand in number, at Turkey Point. The American army was immediately put in motion to oppose them. Its number, on paper, amounted to fourteen thousand: but its effective force, on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed eight thousand men; many of whom were without shoes. Its several divisions were commanded principally by Greene, Maxwell, and Stephens, Stirling, Sullivan, and Wayne. The enemy advanced with boldness, until within two miles of the Americans; who were then posted near Newport. Washington soon changed his position, and halted on the high ground near Chadd's ford, on Brandywine creek; with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest, of the Americans, to try their strength in an engagement. Their regular troops were inferior, not only in discipline, but, in numbers, to the royal army. Popular opinion, however,



imposed a degree of necessity on the general, to keep his troops in front of the enemy, and risk an action for the security of Philadelphia; though, had he taken the ridge of high land on his right, the British, ignorant of his army's weakness, must have respected his numbers, and would probably have followed him into the country. By this policy, the campaign might have been prolonged; whilst the Americans would have been strengthened, and the invaders wasted, by delay. For once, however, Washington relinquished his usual policy, and hazarded a disadvantageous action.

At day-break, on the 11th of September, the royal army moved forward in two columns, commanded by Kniphausen and Cornwallis. The first kept the direct road to Chadd's ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans: the other column came up on the west side of the Brandywine, to its fork; crossing both its branches, and then marching down on its east bank, with the view of turning their adversaries' right wing. This, they accomplished: after a series of endeavours throughout the entire day, the Americans were broken, and every exertion to rally them was ineffectual. The retreat soon became general, and was continued to Chester; with the loss of twelve hundred men, killed and wounded.

Two distinguished foreigners served under the American banners at the Brandywine; the Marquis De La Fayette and count Pulaski; the one, a native of France, the other, of Poland. Animated by the love of liberty, La Fayette, a nobleman of high rank, had left the country of his birth, and offered his service to congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour; and, having determined to join them, communicated his intentions to their commissioners at Paris. His offer was gratefully received. They justly considered, that a patron of so much importance would be of the utmost service to their cause. Before he embarked, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American patriots, reduced to two thousand men, were flying before a British force of thirty thousand; under which circumstances, the commissioners thought it their duty to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his dangerous enterprise. But their candour was expressed in vain. His zeal to serve a struggling country, was heightened, not abated, by her misfortunes. His personal risk was not the only one which might

have deterred him. He hazarded his large fortune, by the laws of France; and also imprisonment, in case of capture when on his way to the United States: for, his sovereign having forbidden his proceeding, despatched orders to the West Indies, to have him, if found in that quarter, confined. He was appointed a major-general in the American army; an honour, of which he showed himself in the highest manner deserving. Though wounded in the late battle, he continued in the field; exerting himself, not only by his voice, but his example, to rally the broken troops. Pulaski was a "thunderbolt of war." It was he, who, a few years before, carried off king Stanislaus from his capital, though the monarch was surrounded by a numerous body of guards, and by a Russian army.

The situation of his troops precluded Washington from long impeding the enemies' advance. After a few days, he was compelled to leave them in undisturbed possession of the roads leading to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down by a succession of severe duties; a thousand of his men were barefooted; and, to increase his misfortunes, Wayne's regiment, encamped near the Paoli tavern, was attacked in the night by general Grey, and about fifty of its number slain with the bayonet.

It was no longer safe for congress to remain in Philadelphia. This august assembly, which, after a short residence at Baltimore, had returned, were obliged, a second time, to consult the public interest, by flight. They retired, first to Lancaster, and afterwards to York.

Sir William Howe, having left the greater part of his army in Germantown, a village about six miles northward of the capital, entered Philadelphia on the 26th of September; where he was received by many with a real or apparent welcome.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had hitherto conducted their affairs, was viewed by the short-sighted as decisive of their fate. But, in the present contest for sovereignty, the result was not in the power of a single ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the possession, or the loss, of any particular place: it was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the people, that were to decide. Indeed, it was conceived by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops, as to indispose them, like the conquerors of Cannæ, for those active

exertions, to which they were compelled, whilst inconveniently encamped in the open country. This speculation was inculcated in France by Dr. Franklin, with his characteristic humour. To remove the impression which the British progress might have made in that country, and place a modern Capua in view, he observed, that, "Instead of saying sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say that Philadelphia had taken sir William Howe."

One of the first objects of the English, after they had obtained possession of the city, was to erect batteries for the purpose of commanding the river, and protecting the town from insult by water. On the other hand, the British shipping was prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions sunk at Mud Island; on which had been erected a battery, and a fort, called in honour of general Mifflin. Opposite, on the Jersey shore, is a height called Red-bank; where, also, a battery was erected: and between the two fortresses, which were about half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament for the protection of the Delaware made its harbour of retreat.

The flattering anticipations, cherished by the continental patriots, that effeminacy would forfeit the acquirements of the sword, were not sufficient to check the accustomed vigour of the field. Such refinements enter not amongst the calculations of the soldier. He rests his hope on the more decisive agency of arms. General Washington, having been re-enforced by twenty-five hundred men, and informed that sir William Howe had detached a considerable party for reducing the works in the Delaware, conceived the design of secretly issuing from his position at Skippack creek, and attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles, near its centre; their left wing extending to the Schuylkill, with strong parties of chasseurs and infantry stationed in advance. The American divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut-hill; whilst general Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down Manatawny road, and attack the British in the left and rear. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to proceed by the Lime-Kiln road; the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under generals Smallwood, and Furman, by the old York road, and fall upon the rear of their right;



and Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, formed a corps of reserve.

The Americans began the attack about sun-rise on the 4th of October. Their first assault obliged a body on Chestnut-hill road to retreat with precipitation; but a thick fog, concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and an ill-judged attempt to expel a party from Mr. Chew's large stone house, caused so much delay, that the British had time to recover from their first surprise. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. General Stephens was cashiered for misconduct in the retreat. Their loss, including four hundred prisoners, was a thousand men. Among the slain, were general Nash, and his aid-de-camp, major Witherspoon. Of the royal army, general Agnew and colonel Bird were killed, and about five hundred others, slain, wounded, or made prisoners.

Soon after this battle, the British left Germantown, and devoted their principal attention to the opening of a free communication between their army and their shipping. Two thousand Hessians, led by colonel Donop, made a furious attack on Red-bank, but were repulsed, with considerable loss, by colonel Greene; and an assault, about the same time, on Fort Mifflin, by a naval force, was equally disastrous. However, their next attempt counterbalanced these misfortunes. The accumulation of sand against the chevaux-de-frise, placed between these works, having, at length, obstructed the passage of the water, the current was diverted into a new channel, and deepened the river on the Pennsylvania side of Mud Island; so as to admit vessels of considerable draught. This post, therefore, was no longer tenable. A large English ship, cut down, so as to require only a small depth of water, enfiladed the works. Colonel Smith, who had bravely defended the place during more than forty days, being wounded, was removed to the main; and, within a week afterwards, major Thayer, who had volunteered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to save his remaining companions by an evacuation. This was not done, however, until the works were entirely beaten down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw hand-grenades into the fort, and killed the men upon the platform. Three days afterwards, the garrison was withdrawn from Red-bank; and, thus, the British accomplished the much desired communication.—The conduct of colonel Smith and

commodore Hazelwood obtained the thanks of congress, signified by their voting to each a sword; their long protracted defence of the Delaware having deranged the enemy's plans for the remainder of the campaign, and, consequently, saved the adjacent country.

About this time, the presidential chair of congress became vacant, by the departure of Mr. Hancock; after he had ably discharged its duties for nearly two years and a half. In his place, was elected Mr. Laurens, of South Carolina; a gentleman of easy fortune, much political experience, and incorruptible integrity: whom, the danger of losing one estate could not intimidate, nor the offer of a larger, corrupt.

The season for action was now almost spent, and with the season, the desire of the British general for battle. After a mutual display of the military art, by sir William Howe and the cautious Washington, both retired to winter quarters; the former into Philadelphia, the latter to Valley Forge. At this place, which is distant from the city about twenty miles, his companions, in a great measure without shoes or stockings, tents or blankets, all cheerfully retired into a wood, in the latter end of December; sheltering themselves from the severity of an American winter in temporary huts.

During these operations in the middle districts, a war, equally extensive, and of more important issue, was prosecuting in the north.

Sanguine in their expectation of forming a line of communication between New York and Canada, the British ministry had left nothing undone that could promote success. The troops destined for this service were upwards of seven thousand; with a train of artillery, the finest, and the most efficiently supplied, that had ever been assigned to second the operations of an equal force. Arms and accoutrements were provided for the Canadians, and several nations of Indians induced to take up the hatchet under the royal banners. The command was given to general Burgoyne; an officer whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enterprise, and thirst of military fame, could not be exceeded. The British had the exclusive navigation of lake Champlain. Their marine force on that inland sea, with which, in the preceding campaign, they had destroyed the American flotilla, was not only entire, but unopposed.

Having gained possession of Ticonderoga, as well as of the other defences which had served to prevent or to im-

pede the advance of an enemy into the United States on the side of Canada, and with a degree of alacrity and perseverance not to be excelled, reached Fort Edward, on the Hudson, Burgoyne proceeded, in the beginning of August, to force his passage down towards Albany. In the meantime, every obstruction had been thrown in his way, by Schuyler, Arnold, St. Clair, and other vigilant commanders; who, at this period, owing to the evacuation of the northern forts, and the exertions of the leading patriots in New York and the contiguous provinces, had in that quarter an army of thirteen thousand men.

In his advance to Albany, Burgoyne formed a plan to draw resources from the farms of Vermont. For this purpose, he detached five hundred Hessians and one hundred Indians, with two field-pieces, under the command of colonel Baum; a force deemed sufficient to seize a magazine of provisions collected by the Americans at Bennington. But he proceeded with less caution than his perilous situation required. On the 16th of August, colonel Starke attacked him, near that place, with about eight hundred New Hampshire militia,—undisciplined, without bayonets, or a single piece of artillery; killed or captured the greater part of his detachment, and got possession of his cannon. This was a brilliant service. Another achievement, scarcely less conspicuous, immediately succeeded. Colonel Breyman, who had been sent by general Burgoyne to support that party, arrived on the same ground, and on the same day, not, however, until the action was decided. Instead of meeting his friends, he found himself vigorously assailed. This attack was made by colonel Warner; who, with his continental regiment, had come up, also to support his friends, and was well assisted by Starke's militia, which had just defeated the party of colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with the preceding march, behaved with great resolution; but were at length obliged to abandon their artillery, and retreat. In these two actions, the Americans took four brass field-pieces, four ammunition wagons, and seven hundred prisoners.

The overthrow of these detachments was the first, in a grand series of events, that finally involved in ruin the whole royal army. It deranged every plan for continuing, or even holding, the advantages previously obtained; inspired the Americans with confidence, animated their exertions, and filled them with justly-formed expectations of future victory.



After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back, from one place to another, until they at last rested at Vanshaick's island. Soon after this retreating system was adopted, congress removed their commanding officers, and placed general Gates at the head of the northern army. His arrival, on the 19th of August, gave fresh vigour to the inhabitants. Encouraged by a hope of capturing the whole British forces, a spirit of adventure burst forth from every quarter, and was carried into various directions. An enterprise was undertaken by general Lincoln, to recover Ticonderoga and the other posts in the rear of the British army; and, though the first object was not accomplished, yet with so much address did colonel Brown, who was despatched to the landing at lake George, proceed, that, with five hundred men, he not only surprised all the out-posts between the landing at the north end of the lake and the body of that fortress; took Mount Defiance and Mount Hope, the old French lines, and a block-house; also two hundred batteaux, several gun-boats, besides two hundred and ninety prisoners; but, at the same time, released one hundred Americans.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its banks, and encamped about two miles from general Gates; a short distance above Still-Water. The Americans thought no more of retreating; and, on the 19th of September, engaged him with firmness and resolution. The conflict though severe, was only partial, for the first hour and a half; but, after a short pause, it became general, and continued for three hours without intermission. A constant blaze of fire streamed forth, and both sides seemed determined on victory or death. The Americans and British were alternately driven by each other, until night ended the effusion of blood. The enemy lost five hundred men, including killed, wounded, and prisoners; the Americans, three hundred.

Every moment made the situation of the British army more critical. Their provisions were lessening, their Indian and provincial allies deserting; whilst the animation and numbers of the Americans increased. From the uncertainty of receiving farther supplies, Burgoyne curtailed the soldiers' rations. His opponents pressed him on every side. Much hard fighting ensued. The British were again defeated. One of Burgoyne's generals, together with his aid-de-camp, was killed, and he himself narrowly escaped; as a ball passed through his hat, and another through his

waistcoat. The American generals Arnold and Lincoln were wounded. To avoid being surrounded, general Burgoyne left his hospital to the humanity of Gates, and retreated to Saratoga. He was still followed, and harassed; driven on one side and straitened on another. The situation of his army was truly distressing: abandoned by their allies, unsupported by their fellow-soldiers in New York, worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in number; without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions: a continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and grape-shot fell in many parts of their lines.

The 12th of October arrived; the day until which hope had bidden the afflicted general wait for the promised assistance from New York. But expectation vanished with the departing sun. He took an account of his provisions. There was only a scanty subsistence for three days. A council of war declared that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms; and a negotiation was commenced. After various messages passed between the hostile armies, it was stipulated, that, on the 17th, the British were to march out of their camp with the customary honours of war; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers; and an undisturbed passage allowed them to Great Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the war.

By this convention, were surrendered five thousand seven hundred and ninety, of all ranks; which number, added to the killed, wounded, and prisoners, lost by the royal army during the preceding part of the expedition, made, altogether, upwards of ten thousand men; an advantage rendered still more important to the captors, by the acquisition of thirty-five brass field-pieces, and nearly five thousand muskets. The regular troops in general Gates's army were nine thousand; the militia, four thousand: but, of the former, two thousand were sick or on furlough; and of the latter, five hundred.

The celebrated Polish patriot, Kosciuski, was chief engineer in the army of general Gates.

On learning the fate of Burgoyne, the British on the North river retired to New York. Those who had been left in his rear destroyed their cannon, and, abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada; so that this whole country, after experiencing for several months the devastations of war, was now restored to perfect tranquillity.

Amongst the numerous tragical events arising from the employment of the Indians by the British, one scene was presented, which we select, not as having relation to the public concerns of the army, but from the interest which it excites. This was, the murder of a Miss M'Crea. The engaging manners and beauty of this young lady having gained the heart of a British officer, he induced a return of his affection, and her consent to become his wife. Anxious for her safety, he wished to remove her from the neighbourhood of a hostile army. On the day appointed for the nuptials, he engaged a party of Indians to convey her to the camp; promising to reward the person who would accompany her, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, both eager for the reward, disputed, after conveying her some distance, which should present her to the intended husband; and the one killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Many will here exclaim, This is characteristic of the Indians. But it is otherwise: it is a remarkable deviation from their accustomed veneration for the weaker sex. The most delicate females have been led captive by them for days and weeks, through the midst of the unfrequented forest, without experiencing the smallest degree of injury or insult.

It has been already mentioned, that congress had laid the foundation of a national fleet, and authorized the fitting out of private armed vessels. Commodore Hopkins, captain-general of the navy, made a sudden descent at New Providence, where he seized a large quantity of warlike stores, and in his return engaged a British frigate, and captured an armed brig. The American privateers rapidly increased, and were unusually successful. In the first nine months of 1776, embracing the period of their existence in that year, they captured property worth a million sterling. In the present year, they advanced in boldness. They carried their enterprising spirit to a degree unprecedented by the vessels of any nation; obliging the enemy to appoint convoys, for the purpose of guarding their commerce, even in the Irish channel. Captain Barney and the volunteers who accompanied him in the *Hyder Ally*, a vessel equipped by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, achieved an honourable service, by capturing a sloop of war, much superior in force, off the Delaware: but the most daring of all the officers sailing under the republican flag, was a native of Scotland, the celebrated Paul Jones.

Until the capture of Burgoyne, the European nations



viewed the war between Great Britain and her colonies only as spectators. Anxious for the territorial dismemberment of a powerful rival: yet, fearful that an early interference might close the breach it was their interest to widen; they had cautiously abstained from positive declarations of assistance, whilst there remained any appearance of conciliation, or any danger of defeat. France was the first ally which the breath of hostility carried to the aid of America. Even the sound of freedom, so discordant to the ear of royalty, was not sufficient to destroy the inveterate competition. Her sovereign consented that the colonies should be free, if Britain could, by that means, be rendered weak. On the 6th of February, a treaty, negotiated by Silas Deane, Dr. Franklin, and Arthur Lee, was signed by the United States and Lewis the Sixteenth; on the basis of perfect reciprocity of interest, and in which the French monarch guaranteed their commerce and independence.

Only three days had elapsed, when the British government received information of this treaty. Immediately, fresh terms of reconciliation were transmitted to their commanders in the United States, and offered to the consideration of congress at York; but, notwithstanding that this assembly was yet ignorant of the important European aid, they were again rejected. The English ministry proposed, that no military force should be stationed in North America, without the approbation of the colonies; and that, to remove the former objections against the laying on of taxes, unless with an accompanying representation, provincial deputies should be allowed a seat in the parliament of Britain. But the United States would consider no propositions which did not include their independence. Their citizens could not be intimidated in the field, nor purchased in the cabinet. To an offer of court remuneration, made through a late royal governor, Johnstone, to colonel Joseph Reed, an influential member of congress, this patriot replied: "I am not worth purchasing; yet, such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me."

It has already been mentioned, that the hostile armies of Washington and Howe had withdrawn into their respective winter-quarters; the former to the huts at Valley Forge; the latter, into the warm accommodation of Philadelphia. That season, and the early part of summer, had almost elapsed, without producing any events more remarkable than a few successful excursions of the royal troops into the

neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, and destroying merchandise and shipping. The treaty with France roused both armies from their long-continued inaction. Apprehensive that a French fleet would be despatched to block up the British squadron in the Delaware, the ministry ordered sir Henry Clinton, who had recently succeeded general Howe in the command of the British army, to evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate the royal forces in New York. Accordingly, the troops in that city passed, on the 22d of June, by the way of Gloucester Point, into New Jersey. The intended movement was not unknown to Washington. He immediately sent general Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with the Jersey militia in obstructing their progress; then, crossing the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, above Trenton, followed with his whole army, and halted in the vicinity of Princeton. From this, fifteen hundred men were detached, to act against their flanks and rear, under the command of general Scott. The British were at this time proceeding towards Sandy Hook, by the way of Allentown and Monmouth court-house. Another detachment was sent forward, under general Wayne, accompanied by La Fayette: the latter having orders to take charge of both the advanced parties; a command which afterwards devolved on Lee; who had been exchanged for general Prescott. The main body followed at a proper distance, and reached Cranbury on the 28th. But, when they had proceeded a few miles farther, Washington was surprised to find Lee retreating; without having offered any obstruction of importance. The commander in chief remonstrated; Lee replied with warmth and unbecoming language; but, at length, consented to fight the enemy on a piece of ground which Washington assigned him. A warm cannonade immediately began between the artillery, and a heavy firing of musketry between the advanced troops, of the British and Americans. The latter stood their ground until intermixed with the enemy; and general Lee was the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops. The advantage, however, which the British thus gained, was only momentary. The check which they had received enabled Washington to make a favourable disposition of his left wing and his second line in a wood; and to plant some cannon on an eminence, under the able direction of lord Stirling. Generals Greene and Wayne, also, bore a conspicuous part in the engagement; which was continued with much spirit until dark. In the night, the

British troops went off, with so much silence, that general Poor, though very near them, knew nothing of their departure; and, continuing their march without farther interruption, they soon reached Sandy Hook. The Americans proceeded for the borders of North River. Colonel Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and major Dickinson, of Virginia, two highly-esteemed officers, were amongst the slain. Besides the usual destruction attending military engagements, the emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on so great a suppression of the vital powers, that sixty of the British, and some of the Americans, were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence.

The conduct of general Lee could not be withheld from investigation. The public interest demanded a proper scrutiny. He was tried by a court martial; and, being pronounced guilty of making an unnecessary retreat; of disobedience of orders, and disrespect to the commander in chief; was sentenced to be suspended from his professional functions for the space of one year: a judgment, which, though approved by the majority in the United States, was not without dissentients; as, whilst every one admitted his violence, and impatience of subordination, none seemed to question his fidelity and courage.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took a station at White Plains, beyond Kingsbridge; where, the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained there from an early day in July until nearly the end of autumn, and then retired to Middle Brook, in Jersey; at which place, they built for themselves huts, in the same manner as at Valley Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress returned to its former place of deliberation, and soon afterwards, had a new, and most pleasing, duty, to perform—to give public audience to a minister plenipotentiary of France. Thus, in little more than a century and a half from the period when their struggling germe was planted amidst the forest, the United States had attained an elevated rank amongst the sovereign nations of the earth.

The first object of the French fleet, as had been conjectured by the British government, was to surprise their admiral in the Delaware. But its passage from Toulon had been so tedious, that lord Howe, by sailing to New York, was enabled to evade the almost certain mortification of



yielding to a doubly superior force; a remarkable escape; from which, as the interest of the colonies did not finally suffer, it is not, in one point of view, to be regretted. The subsequent conduct of the French admiral, D'Estaign, in avoiding his antagonist; who, though re-enforced by a squadron sent from England with lord Byron, was still his inferior; induces a generous mind to withhold, even from one's ally, an easily acquired victory. Much inconvenience, accrued to the land-troops of the United States from this want of co-operation by the admiral; and Rhode Island was evacuated by the brave men intrusted with its recovery from the British.

The disastrous invasion of Canada had not taught congress the impolicy of carrying the war beyond the limits of the Union: an enterprise against Florida, conducted by the American general Howe, with two thousand men, of whom a fourth fell victims to the climate, exhibited, again, the unprofitable waste of foreign expeditions.

Hitherto, the British had made only a feeble effort to promote the grand object of the war, by operations in the south. More than two years of comparative peace had been allowed that portion of the states. But, Georgia, one of the weakest members of the Union, and, moreover, abounding with provisions, being now marked out as the most advantageous ground on which to try the fortune of the English arms, colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, arrived in November, at Savannah, with about two thousand men. From the landing-place, a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this passage. On their advance, they received a heavy fire from a small party, under the command of captain Smith; but the British forced their way, and compelled him to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road; and posted his little army, consisting of about one thousand continentals and militia, between the landing-place and the town: with the river on his left, and a morass in front: a position which offered great difficulties before he could be dislodged. But these were obviated by a fortuitous event. Information being received from a negro, of an unguarded path through the swamp, a party of the British found their way unobserved, and appeared in the rear of the Americans. Howe ordered an immediate re-

treat; the British pursued: upwards of a hundred Americans were killed; four hundred and fifty officers and privates, seven pieces of cannon, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, and a large quantity of provisions, were all, in the space of a few hours, in possession of the enemy.

With the capital of Georgia, the entire province seemed re-united to the British crown. Colonel Campbell acted with great policy in securing the submission of the inhabitants. His moderation and prudence were more successful in reconciling their minds to the former constitution, than the severity which had generally been adopted by other British commanders; as Georgia was the only state in the Union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislative body assembled under the authority of Great Britain.

Meanwhile, general Prevost arrived, with his troops from St. Augustine, and, having in his way overpowered the garrison at Sunbury, took the command of all the British forces in the province: at which period, the campaign ended; the least animated of any since the beginning of the war.

In the American marine, severe loss had been sustained, from the destruction of some of its largest vessels in the Delaware; yet, for these misfortunes, regret produced no higher feeling than had arisen from the diminution of national power. But the fate of the Randolph was unusually afflicting. This vessel, a frigate of thirty-six guns and three hundred men, having sailed on a cruise from Charleston, and engaged, in the night, an English vessel of sixty-four guns, in about a quarter of an hour, blew up; when only four of her men were saved upon the fragment of the wreck. These had subsisted, during four days, on rain-water, which they drank from a piece of blanket. On the fifth day, captain Vincent, of the British vessel, Yarmouth, on discovering them, humanely suspended a chase, and took the wretched sufferers on board. Captain Biddle, the commander of the Randolph, was universally lamented. In the prime of life; skilled in his professional duties; bold in their execution; he had excited high anticipations of future benefit to his country.

The inadequacy of the provision made for the support of military officers, had induced many resignations. This forced on congress some improvement in their condition. From a conviction of the justice and policy of rendering

commissions valuable, impressed by the warm but disinterested recommendations of general Washington, that body resolved, that half-pay should be allowed their officers, for the term of seven years after the expiration of their service, a remuneration subsequently extended to the duration of their lives.

1779 Throughout the year into which we are now entering, the British aimed at little more, in the states to the north of Carolina, than depredation and distress. For this purpose, they planned several expeditions. Sir George Collier and general Matthews, accompanied by naval and land-forces, having, in May, proceeded to Virginia, took possession of Portsmouth; crossed the river to the remains of Norfolk, and seized the shipping. They next marched to Suffolk, Kemp's Landing, Gosport, and other places in the neighbourhood; burned or otherwise destroyed the naval stores, shipping, and provisions; and, embarking with three thousand hogsheads of tobacco, returned in safety to New York. Soon afterwards, governor Tryon was despatched, with a similar intention, against Connecticut. Accompanied by a numerous force, under the escort of admiral Collier, he landed at East Haven; then, visited New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk: in each of which places, there was exhibited a barbarous scene of plunder and conflagration, insult and devastation. No object was too valuable, none too contemptible, to save it from destruction, or their grasp. No building was sufficiently sacred to restrain the torch: what was spared by one party, in the morning, was, by another, in the evening, destroyed.

Whilst they were carrying on this desultory warfare, the American army was incapable of covering the country; or the navy, of protecting the creeks and harbours. Had Washington divided his army, in conformity with the wishes of the invaded, he would have subjected his whole force to be destroyed. It was, therefore, his uniform practice, to risk no more than was consistent with the general safety: and to lie, with his main body, at a convenient distance from the head quarters of the British. His army was, at this period, stationed on both sides of the North river; the enemy, within their lines, at New York.

This campaign, though barren of important events, was distinguished, on the fifteenth of July, by one of the most gallant enterprises that occurred during the whole war,—the capture of Stony-Point, on the North river, by general Wayne.



But that achievement, as well as the brilliant surprise of an English garrison at Paulus Hook, by major Lee, was more than counterbalanced by the disastrous termination of an enterprise undertaken by the state of Massachusetts, without the knowledge of general Washington, against a British post at Penobscot. The land-forces were intrusted to general Lovel; the fleet, to commodore Saltonstall. Instead of boldly assaulting the half-finished works, upon which not a single gun was, at his first appearance, mounted, the general sat respectfully down, at seven hundred and fifty yards distance, as before a regular fortification, proceeded to erect a battery, and cannonaded the feebly defended place, for about a fortnight. This delay gave time for admiral Collier to arrive with his squadron to its relief. The American fleet, being overpowered, was either captured or destroyed. Lovel converted the siege into a retreat; and, not only with his soldiers, but the seamen also, who had escaped on shore, had to return to Boston, a great part of the way by land, through thick and unfrequented woods.

We must again turn our attention to the southern states. In Carolina and Georgia, the royal forces were now carrying on a vigorous warfare. Although, in the north, hostilities had no other than the avowed object of wasting a country which could not be enjoyed, the re-establishment of British authority was seriously attempted in the south. To superintend the American forces in that quarter, congress appointed general Lincoln. But his army, except a few hundred regulars, consisted only of inexperienced, disorderly militia; who added more to his numbers than to his strength.

The first object of the British at Savannah, after being re-enforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was to obtain possession of Port Royal, in Carolina. From this, however, their detachment was gallantly repulsed, by general Moultrie. Restrained in that direction, they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia; fixing posts at Ebenezer and Augusta, and endeavouring to increase their strength, by drawing to their standard the "tories" in the western districts of this state and Carolina. Several hundred of these royalists proceeded towards Augusta. Their general character was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty than for the interest of the king. They immediately began to rob the defenceless settlements. But they were not allowed to commit, with impunity, so atrocious an outrage against society. Colonel Pickens,

having assembled a few hundred of the inhabitants, overtook them at Kettle-creek; and, in three-quarters of an hour, killed, captured, or dispersed the whole.

General Lincoln fixed encampments on the Carolina side of the Savannah river, at Black Swamp, nearly opposite to Augusta. From these posts, he formed a plan of entering Georgia; with a view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design, general Ashe, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia and a few regular troops, after crossing the Savannah, took a position on Briar-creek; but, on the 3d of March, he was surprised by colonel Prevost; who, having made a circuitous march, came on his rear with nine hundred men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and as many taken prisoners. The few continentals, under Elbert, made a brave resistance; but the survivors of this body, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event was a serious misfortune. It deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the royalists of North and South Carolina.

Great apprehensions were accordingly entertained for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South Carolina was therefore more efficiently organized, a regiment of cavalry embodied, and John Rutledge, a man of distinguished abilities, called to the provincial chair; and, in conjunction with his council, invested with dictatorial power. The original design of penetrating into Georgia, was now resumed; and troops, under general Lincoln, for that purpose began their march. But, when he had ascended about a hundred and fifty miles towards the head of the Savannah, general Prevost, availing himself of the critical moment, crossed, with twenty-four hundred, over the same river, into Carolina. Proceeding for the capital, he drove before him one division left under Moultrie, to defend the frontiers; but, at the same time, he was himself followed by another, under Lincoln; who had re-crossed the Savannah, intending to arrest the enemy's progress to Charleston. Had the British general continued his march, with the same rapidity with which it was begun, he might have entered the town by a *coup-de-main*: but he halted two or three days, when advanced nearly half the distance; and, thus, allowed the Carolinians to make extensive preparations towards its defence. For its security, all the houses in the suburbs

were burned; lines were carried, in its rear, across the peninsula, between Ashley and Cooper rivers, cannon mounted along the whole extent, and three thousand men assembled within the works.

The main body and baggage of the English army being left on the south side of Ashley river, a detachment of nine hundred men crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. But, after a short stay, which the defenders had artfully consumed by negotiations, the British general, informed that Lincoln was coming on his rear, retreated with his whole force to the islands near the sea. Both armies observed each other's motions, until the 20th of June; when, an attack was made by general Lincoln, with about twelve hundred men, on six or seven hundred of the British, advantageously posted at Stono-ferry: but, owing to some mismanagement, by which the assailants were disappointed in support, they were under the necessity of withdrawing; after being deprived of the services of one hundred and fifty men, who were killed or wounded. Amongst the slain, was colonel Roberts; an artillery officer of distinguished abilities. Bred to arms in his native country, England, he had been particularly serviceable in diffusing military knowledge amongst the less informed of the American officers. His last moments were truly characteristic of the soldier. Being visited on the field of battle by his son, captain Roberts, of his own regiment, the expiring father, presenting to him his sword, "Behave worthy of it," he said; "use it in defence of liberty and your country. Return to your proper station: there, you may be useful; but, to me, you can now be of no service."

Immediately after this repulse, the American militia, impatient of absence from their homes, retired to their plantations: the continentals, under the command of Lincoln, withdrew to Sheldon; a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort; and the British retreated to Port Royal and Savannah.

Both armies remained in their respective encampments, until the arrival of a French fleet off the coast of Georgia, roused the whole country to activity. Admiral D'Estaign, by the desire of the authorities in Carolina, having sailed, on the first of September, from the West Indies, appeared so unexpectedly to the British, that a ship of fifty guns and three frigates fell into his hands. General Lincoln marched towards Savannah; and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South Carolina to rendezvous near the same



place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for defence. D'Estaing, previous to the arrival of Lincoln, had demanded the surrender of the town; upon which, Prevost asked for a suspension of hostilities, during twenty-four hours, that he might prepare terms of capitulation. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the time elapsed, several hundred British soldiers, who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah; and the works were hourly strengthened by the labour of the negroes, directed by a skilful engineer. As the hurricane season was approaching, when it would be imprudent for D'Estaing to risk his fleet on so dangerous a coast, an assault, or immediate retreat were the only alternatives. A sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. On the 9th of October, before day, two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-Hill battery, with thirty-five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty inhabitants of Charleston, under the command of D'Estaing and Lincoln: but a heavy fire from the batteries and the shipping threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were, notwithstanding, planted on the British redoubts: after which, it became necessary to retreat. Six hundred of the French, and upwards of two hundred of the Americans, were killed or wounded. D'Estaing and count Pulaski were wounded; the latter, mortally. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand. Their loss was trifling; as they fired from behind a cover, and few of the assailants returned a shot.

Not many hours before this attack, a council of war had been held by the assailants, the determinations of which became known to a spy, who had the address to stand as sentinel at the entrance of the tent where the officers were deliberating; and, escaping in the dark, conveyed their intention to the British.

The siege being raised, D'Estaing re-embarked his troops; the continentals retreated over the Savannah river; and the militia again returned to their plantations. The presence of the French admiral in the American waters was not, however, without benefit to the republican interest. It caused a useful diversion of the royal troops, and the garrison of Rhode Island was accordingly withdrawn, on the 15th of October, into New York.

Whilst the fate of Savannah was pending, an enterprise

was effected by colonel John White, of the Georgia militia; which, for extraordinary success, cannot, it is conceived, be paralleled in the annals of military achievements. Captain French had been stationed, with about one hundred British soldiers, near the river Ogechee. There were also at the same place forty sailors, on board of five English vessels; four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels, were surrendered to colonel White, captain Elholm, and four others; one of whom was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night, this small party had kindled a number of fires, and adopted the parade of a large encampment; by which, and a variety of other stratagems, the British officer, impressed with an opinion that nothing but immediate submission, in conformity with a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force, yielded, without making any resistance.

Although this campaign affords several instances of distinguished vigour, yet, on the whole, it is remarkable for the general lethargy of the Americans. Causes which had previously excited their energy, had, in a great measure, lost their influence. In the beginning of the war, enthusiasm for liberty made them indifferent as to the most valuable property, and fearless of the greatest dangers. Their successes had gained them allies, and their allies had inspired confidence. The brisk circulation of a large quantity of paper money, had caused both activity and decision. Every fear of a happy termination of the contest, was, by these means, banished, and every past misfortune unlamented. But, the failure of each succeeding scheme of co-operation with the French, produced despondency amongst the troops; the depreciation of the paper money, stagnation in the pursuits of commerce; and it was, for a time, doubtful, whether the Americans were to be independent citizens or conquered subjects.\*

\* The depreciation of the continental money, the manner of redeeming which, can never be considered by an honest mind, without feelings of deep regret, began at different periods in the different states; but, in general, about the middle of 1777: two years after its first appearance. Towards the end of that year, the depreciation was about two or three for one. In 1778, it increased to six, and, in the following year, to twenty-eight, for one: in 1780, when it amounted to two hundred millions, to fifty or sixty for one of silver; after which period, its circulation was only partial; but, where it did pass, it soon fell to one hundred and fifty for one. In a few places, it continued in circulation for the first four or five months

No sooner was the departure of the French fleet from Savannah known to the British in New York, than sir Henry Clinton, assigning the command of the royal army in this city to general Kniphausen, embarked for the south, with seventeen regiments of foot, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and a powerful detachment of battering and field guns. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which, most of the artillery and all the cavalry horses were lost, 1780 the troops effected a landing, on the 4th of February, about thirty miles from Charleston; took possession of John's Island and Stono-ferry, James's Island and Wappoo-Cut; and, having thrown a bridge over a canal, part of their number took post on the banks of Ashley river, opposite to Charleston.

The governor of the state immediately summoned the militia: but, though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. He did not, however, neglect any means that could induce their assembling. When the love of country was insufficient to promote resistance to the common enemy, he appealed to another passion; which, in the absence of the former, is seldom found inactive. Under his extraordinary powers, he issued a proclamation, requiring those in the country who had been regularly enrolled, and all the inhabitants of Charleston capable of bearing arms, to join the American standard, under pain of confiscation. Still, however, their brethren in the capital received only trifling aid from the people of the interior.

Sir Henry Clinton, after being re-enforced from the garrison of Savannah, made arrangements for commencing the siege. He formed a depot, and erected fortifications, on James's Island, as well as on the main land, opposite to the southern and western extremities of the city, and sent across the Ashley an advanced party; who, on the first of April, broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, he erected five batteries on Charleston Neck; and, altogether, conducted his approach on a scale of magnitude seldom witnessed before a town, which, notwithstanding the assiduity of the garrison, had no other defences than

of 1781; but, at this time, many would not take it at any price; and they who did, received it at the rate of several hundreds for one. Besides that immense sum, the paper bills of the individual states amounted to many millions; which added still farther to its depreciation.



common field-works. The British marine force, consisting of eight frigates, carrying in all two hundred and eighty guns, crossed the bar, and anchored in Five-Fathom Hole. The American fleet, composed of nine ships, under commodore Whipple, mounting only two hundred and twenty guns, was not thought equal to engage the enemy, and therefore fell back to the city; where, the commodore landed his men and guns, to re-enforce the batteries. On the 9th of April, the British admiral passed all the forts in the harbour; after which, colonel Pinckney, and a part of the men under his command, were withdrawn from Sullivan's Island into Charleston. Fort Moultrie surrendered on the 6th of May. On the same day, the remains of the American cavalry, which had escaped from a late surprise at Monk's Corner, were again surprised, by colonel Tarleton, at Laneau's ferry, on the Santee; when the whole were either killed or captured, or dispersed; and the British thus gained entire command of Cooper River. Their batteries of the third parallel were opened. Shells were thrown into almost every quarter of the town, and several houses were burned. The cannon played at a less distance than a hundred yards. The Hessian chasseurs were so near the American lines, that they could easily strike any object on them with their rifles. The British crossed the wet ditch by sap, advanced within twenty-five yards of the works, and were ready for making a general assault, by land and water. All expectation of succour was at an end. The only remaining hope was, that nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, supported by a naval force, might fail in storming extensive lines, defended by less than three thousand. The period was awful. Perseverance might provoke revenge, but could not ensure success. On the 11th of May, a number of the citizens addressed general Lincoln; declaring their acquiescence in the terms of surrender which the besiegers had some time before offered, and urging him to accept them. The general wrote, accordingly, to sir Henry Clinton; who, wishing to avoid the extremity of entering the town by storm, and unwilling to press the unconditional surrender of an enemy whose friendship he wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed on the 12th; and, on the next day, the British took possession of the city. By this agreement, the garrison were to march out of the town, and deposit their arms in front of the works: but their drums were not to beat a British march, nor their colours to be uncased. The continent-

al troops and seamen were to retain their baggage, and remain prisoners of war until exchanged. The militia were allowed to return home, as prisoners on parole; and the inhabitants of the town were placed in the same situation.

The number that surrendered, including every adult male inhabitant, was five thousand; but the proper garrison did not exceed twenty-five hundred. The artillery amounted to four hundred. The loss on both sides, during the siege, was nearly equal: of the Americans, eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and forty wounded: of the royal army, seventy-six were killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded.

After the fall of Charleston, the Alliance and Deane frigates were the only remnant of the American navy. These were soon afterwards sold, the navy-boards dissolved, and all maritime adventures ceased, except by the armed vessels of individuals.

The next object with the British, was to secure the general submission of the state. To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and sent two thousand men towards North Carolina. Colonel Tarleton advanced rapidly, with about seven hundred horse, in pursuit of three or four hundred infantry, and a few cavalry, who were retreating under colonel Buford; and, having overtaken them at the Waxhaws, brought them to an action: in which, though the Americans had, in the very beginning, sued for quarter, the greater part of their number were either killed, or so cruelly mangled, as to be incapable of being removed from the field of battle.

Early in June, sir Henry Clinton, leaving about four thousand men for the southern service, embarked, with the main army, for New York. On his departure, the command devolved on lord Cornwallis; who, having committed the care of the frontier to lord Rawdon, (afterwards entitled earl of Moira, and now marquis of Hastings,) repaired to Charleston; where he devoted his principal attention to the civil regulations of the state. In the meantime, the impossibility of removing with their families and property, and the want of an army, around whose standard they might repair, induced the people, except in the extremities of the province bordering on North Carolina, to relinquish all schemes of farther resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm; which induced the British to suppose that the state was entirely conquered.

As the enemy advanced to the upper districts, a considerable number of patriots retreated before them, and took refuge in North Carolina. Amongst these, was colonel Sumpter; a distinguished individual, whom a party of exiles had selected as their leader. They had no pay, no uniforms, nor any certain means of subsistence: they lived upon what chance, or their own courage, provided them. They experienced even a want of arms and ammunition; but they made themselves rude weapons from the instruments of husbandry; and, instead of balls of lead, they cast them of pewter, from the dishes furnished by the patriots for that purpose. But these resources were far from being sufficient. They several times encountered the enemy with only three charges of ammunition to each man; and some, who were without arms, remained aside, waiting until the death or wounds of their companions permitted them to take their place. Having, at the head of this little band of freemen, returned to his own state, Sumpter took the field against the victorious invaders; and, on the 12th of July, two months after the fall of Charleston, routed a detachment posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation; the first effort of renewed warfare, and the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. His troops, which were, at this time, only one hundred, increased, in a few days, to six hundred. With these, he made a spirited attack on a party at Rocky Mount: but, as he had no artillery, and the enemy were secured behind a breast-work, he was obliged to retreat. His next enterprise more than compensated for this disappointment. Having attacked another detachment, consisting of a small British regiment and a large body of royalists, posted at Hanging-Rock, he almost totally destroyed the former, and dispersed the latter, who had advanced from North Carolina, under colonel Bryan. This achievement produced most important advantages. The panic, occasioned by the fall of Charleston, daily abated. The whig militia, on the extremities of the state, formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and harassed the royal army with continual disturbance.

While Sumpter kept up the spirits of the people, by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states to their relief. These, consisting of the Maryland and Delaware troops, under general Gates, reached Clermont, thirteen



miles from Camden, about the middle of August; after escaping imminent danger of destruction, from the heat of the season, the unhealthy climate, and insufficiency of food; in passing many hundred miles, through pine-barrens, swamps, and sand-hills.

As those indefatigable Americans were approaching, lord Rawdon concentrated his forces at Camden. Encouraged by these favourable events,—the retreat of the enemy from their out-posts, and the appearance of their friends; the citizens of Carolina, impatient of insolence, rapine, and subjection, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Gates displayed the utmost energy and wisdom in fostering the growing spirit. His measures were followed by a general revolt; and his strength, increased by the arrival of some Virginia militia, led by general Stephens, promised a durable emancipation. His army was nearly four thousand men; of whom, however, only a fourth were regulars. On the approach of Gates, lord Cornwallis hastened from Charleston to Camden; where he arrived on the 14th of August. His force did not exceed two thousand; an inferiority which would have justified a retreat: but, choosing rather to stake his fortune on the decision of an immediate battle, he marched from Camden on the following night; intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. Gates, also, having moved forward, that he might secure an advantageous position, their advanced parties met in the night, and engaged. The American cavalry recoiled at the first fire, and threw the whole line of the main body into confusion. But they soon recovered their order, and both armies skirmished until morning. When the day broke, the engagement became general. The Americans suffered a heavy loss. At the first onset, nearly all the Virginia militia, on being charged with bayonets, threw down their arms, and fled; and a considerable part of the North Carolina militia followed the unworthy example. But the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware, commanded by a German officer, baron de Kalb, bravely maintained their ground, until overpowered by numbers, and almost surrounded. The British took two hundred and ninety wounded prisoners; of whom, two hundred were continentals, eighty were North Carolina, and two Virginia militia; together with the whole of the American artillery, two hundred waggons, and the greater part of the baggage. General Gregory, who commanded that

portion of the North Carolina militia which continued in action, was twice wounded by a bayonet. Baron de Kalb, the second in command under general Gates, was taken prisoner by Tarleton's cavalry, and died, on the next day, of his wounds. Congress resolved that a monument, with a very honourable inscription, should be erected to his memory, at Annapolis; which, it is to be regretted, has not yet been executed.

To imbitter the distressing situation of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumpter's corps. Sumpter, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, after taking a number of prisoners, and depriving the British of some stores, had found it expedient, on learning the misfortune which had befallen his superior, to retreat; when, his party, overcome by fatigue, and unable to observe even the usual caution in guarding against surprise, were attacked at Fishing-creek; and all that were not killed or captured, were dispersed.

South Carolina seemed a second time subdued. Those who had nobly entered the field of battle, were scattered or imprisoned; or had fallen, never again to aid in rescuing their country. Some, whose professions, or imbecilities, had prevented them from becoming soldiers, but whose firmness on the side of liberty made them, even when at home, dangerous enemies to the invaders, were banished from the state; many submitted to the victors through necessity; others through inclination. The mischievous effects of slavery now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest in their own persons, a change of masters was to them no misfortune; as they had no interest in the state, its subjugation was a matter of triumph.

After the defeat of general Gates, the miserable remnant of his army, which had rendezvoused at Charlotte, retreated to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Hillsborough. There was no army to oppose lord Cornwallis. But, what was wanting in the strength of one party, was in a great measure supplied by the weakness of the other. Unaccustomed to the noxious air of a Carolina summer, sickness restrained the weapons which could not be opposed, and checked the British soldiers in their pursuit of conquest.

About the time when Sumpter was rewarded with the rank of general, another partisan was advanced to the same rank. This was Marion; an ardent and zealous officer, highly and most deservedly celebrated in the annals of his country. For several weeks he had under his command

only seventy men; at one time, no more than twenty-five. Yet, with this little band, he kept the field amidst surrounding foes, and harassed the quarters of the royal army by unremitting sallies. With only thirty companions, he surprised and captured in the night a party of ninety British soldiers, on their march to Charleston with two hundred American prisoners. But open resistance to British government was not confined to those. There was, without any apparent concert, a powerful combination of several commanders of the adjacent states. Colonel Campbell, of Virginia; colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and M'Dowell, of North Carolina; together with colonels Lacey, Hawthorn, and Hill, of South Carolina; assembled with sixteen hundred men: though they were under no general command, and were not called upon by any authority whatever. They had so little of the mechanism of a regular army, that the colonels, by mutual consent, commanded, each in rotation, for a day. The hardships suffered by these volunteers were great. At night, the earth afforded them a bed, and the limbs of trees were their only covering. Ears of corn or pumpkins, thrown into the fire, with occasional supplies of beef or venison, killed and roasted in the woods, were the chief articles of their provision. The running stream quenched their thirst: they had neither spirituous liquors nor stores of any kind.

A particular instance of privation deserves recording. A British officer, having been sent from Georgetown, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, was conducted, after the usual ceremony of blindfolding, into Marion's encampment. When the business was concluded, the officer took up his hat to retire.—“Oh, no!” said Marion, “it is now about our time of dining; and I hope, sir, you will give us the pleasure of your company to dinner.”—On mention of the word *dinner*, the British officer looked around him; but, to his great mortification, could see neither pot nor pan, nor any other utensil that could raise the spirits of a hungry man.—“Come, Tom,” said the general, to one of his men, “give us our dinner.”—The dinner, to which he alluded, was no other than a few sweet potatoes roasting under the embers, and which, Tom, with his pine-stick poker, soon drew from their concealment; pinching them, every now and then, with his fingers, especially the large ones, to ascertain whether they were sufficiently roasted: then, having cleansed them from the ashes, partly by blowing them with his breath, and partly by brushing them with the sleeve of his



old cotton shirt, he piled some of the best on a large piece of bark, and placed them between the British officer and Marion, on the trunk of a fallen pine, on which they sat.—“I fear, sir,” said the general, “our dinner will not prove so palatable as I could wish; but it is the best we have.”—The officer, who was a well-bred man, took up one of the potatoes, affecting to eat it, as if he had found a great dainty: but presently, he broke out into a hearty laugh. Marion looked surprised.—“I beg pardon, general,” said the other; “I was only thinking, how drolly some of my brother officers would look, if our government were to give them such a bill of fare as this!”—“I suppose,” replied Marion, “it is not equal to their style of dining.”—“No, indeed,” said the officer; “but this, I imagine, is one of your accidental lent dinners: in general, no doubt, you live much better.”—“Rather worse,” rejoined the American; “for often we don’t get enough of this.”—“But, though stinted in *provisions*, you draw noble *pay*.”—“Not a cent, sir,” replied Marion—“not a cent.”—

On his return to Georgetown, he was asked by colonel Watson, why he looked so serious.—“I have cause, sir,” replied he, “to look serious.”—“Has Marion refused to treat?”—“No sir.”—“Has Washington defeated sir Henry Clinton?”—“No, sir, not that neither; but *worse*. I have seen an American general and his officers, without pay, and almost without clothes, dining on roots, and drinking water, and all these privations undergone for Liberty. What chance have we against such men!

Colonel Watson was little animated by this discovery; and the young officer was so affected by Marion’s sentiments, that he resigned his commission, and retired from the service.

Having selected about a thousand of their best men, colonel Campbell and his associate leaders mounted them on their fleetest horses; and, on the 7th of October, attacked major Ferguson, a British officer who had collected a corps of royal militia, on the top of King’s Mountain, near the confines of North and South Carolina. The Americans formed three parties. Colonel Cleveland addressed his division in the following unvarnished, but energetic, language: “My brave fellows, we have beaten the tories, and we can again beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join their fellow-citizens, in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait the word of command

from me. I will show you, by my example, how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat. But I beg you will not run quite off. If we be repulsed, let us make a point to return, and renew the fight. Perhaps, we may have better luck in the second attempt, than in the first. If any be afraid, they have leave to retire; and are requested immediately to take themselves off."

Ferguson boldly met the assailants with fixed bayonets, and compelled them successively to retreat: but they fell back only a short distance; and, concealed amongst trees and rocks, renewed the fire. The British being uncovered, were aimed at by the marksmen, and many of their party were slain. After a severe battle, major Ferguson, who had displayed the utmost bravery, received a mortal wound; and as there was no prospect of successful resistance, or of escape, the contest was ended by his submission. Upwards of eight hundred became prisoners, and two hundred were killed and wounded. An unusual number of the killed were found shot in the head. Riflemen brought down each other, so effectually, that their eyes remained, after they were dead, one shut and the other open; in the ordinary manner of marksmen when leveling at their object.

During the first three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, general Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsborough, he advanced to Salisbury, and, soon afterwards, to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to meet the enemy: but, from the influence, which, in a commonwealth, popular opinion has over public measures, congress resolved to supersede him, and order an examination of his conduct.

In the northern states, the campaign was barren of important events. The only movement, worthy of attention, was made by general Kniphausen, from New York; intended rather for devastation than conquest. From Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, this officer proceeded, in June, to Connecticut farms: where, besides a number of dwelling houses, he burned the Presbyterian church, and then continued his progress towards Springfield. As he advanced, he was annoyed by colonel Dayton, with a few militia, and by general Maxwell; who, with some continental troops,



was stationed at a bridge to dispute his passage. Here, the British made a halt; and soon afterwards returned to Elizabethtown: but, being re-enforced, they advanced, a second time; towards Springfield. They were now opposed by general Greene, with a considerable body of regulars from the head-quarters of the northern army at Morristown. But superior numbers compelled the Americans to retreat. The British, instead of improving their advantage, began to burn the town of Springfield; and, after destroying about fifty houses, again retired; with the enraged militia in their rear, until they reached Elizabethtown. By such desultory operations, were hostilities, at this time, carried on, in the northern states. Individuals were killed, houses were burned, much injury was done, but nothing effected, tending either to reconciliation or subjugation.

The distress suffered by the American army, did not arrive at its highest pitch until the present season. The officers of the Jersey line, now addressed a memorial to their state legislature, complaining, that four months' pay of a private would not procure for his family a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; and that a common labourer received four times as much as an American officer. They urged, that unless an immediate remedy were provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable; and concluded, by saying, that their pay should be realized, either by Mexican dollars, or something equivalent. Nor was the insufficiency of their support the only motive to complaint. Other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea of a continental army, to be raised, paid, and regulated, upon an equal and uniform principle, had been, in a great measure, exchanged, for that of state establishments; a pernicious measure, partly originating from necessity, because, state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Some states, from their superior ability, furnished their troops, not only with clothing, but with many articles of convenience. Others supplied them with mere necessities; whilst a few, from their particular situation, could give little, or perhaps nothing. The officers and men, in the routine of duty, daily intermixed and made comparisons. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service that allowed such injurious distinctions. Mutiny began to spread, and at length broke out amongst the soldiers at fort Schuyler. Thirty-one privates of that



garrison went off in a body. They were overtaken, and thirteen of their number instantly killed. About the same time, two regiments of Connecticut troops mutinied, and got under arms; determined to return home, or gain subsistence by the bayonet. Their officers reasoned with them, and used every argument that could interest their passions or their pride. They at first answered, "Our sufferings are too great—we want present relief." But military feelings were, in the end, triumphant: after much expostulation, they returned to the encampment.

It is natural to suppose, that the British commander would not lose so favourable an opportunity of severing the discontented from their companions, and attracting them to his own standard. He circulated a printed paper in the American camp; tending to heighten the disorder by exaggeration, and create desertion by promises of bounty and caresses. But, so great was the firmness of the soldiery, and so strong their attachment to their country, that, on the arrival of only a scanty supply of meat, for their immediate subsistence, military duty was cheerfully performed, and the rolls were seldom dishonoured by desertion.

The necessities of the American army grew so pressing, that Washington was constrained to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days; and, was compelled even to send out detachments, to collect subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Even this expedient at length failed; the country, in the vicinity of the army, being soon exhausted. His situation was painfully embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions; the inhabitants, for protection. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed impossible. To preserve order and subordination, in an army of republicans, even when well fed, regularly paid, and comfortably clothed, is not an easy task; but, to retain them in service, and subject them to the rules of discipline, when wanting, not only the comforts, but often the necessaries, of life, require such address and abilities, as are rarely found in human nature. These were, however, combined in Washington. He not only kept his army in the field, but opposed those difficulties with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the soldiers and the people.

To obviate these evils, congress sent a committee of its own members to the encampment of the main army. They confirmed the representations previously made, of the dis-

tresses, and the disorders arising from commissarial mismanagement, which every where prevailed. In particular, they stated, that the army was unpaid for five months; that it seldom had more than six days' provision in advance; and was, on different occasions, for several successive days, without meat; that the horses were destitute of forage; that the medical department had no sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirituous liquors of any kind; that every department was without money, and without credit; and that the patience of the soldiers, worn down by the pressure of complicated sufferings, was on the point of being exhausted.

Misfortunes, from every quarter, were, at this time, pouring in upon the United States. But they seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When congress could obtain neither money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the inhabitants of Philadelphia gave three hundred thousand dollars, to procure a supply of necessary provisions for the suffering troops: and the ladies of that city, at the same time, contributed largely to their immediate relief. Their example was very generally followed. The patriotic flame, which blazed forth in the beginning of the war, was rekindled. The different states were ardently excited; and it was arranged, that the regular army should be raised to thirty-five thousand effective men.

France, too, about the same time, determined to augment her co-operation. The marquis La Fayette had gone over, for a short time, to that country, and successfully urged the government to enlarge its aid. On the 10th of July, admiral de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels; besides, a fleet of transports, having on board six thousand men, under the command of general count de Rochambeau.

United both in interest and affection with the Americans, the French troops eagerly desired an opportunity to act with them against the common enemy. Only a short time, however, was allowed for the indulgence of these sentiments, before the French fleet and army were blocked up at Rhode Island, by admiral Arbuthnot, with ten sail of the line. Hopes were, nevertheless, indulged, that, by the arrival of another fleet, then in the West Indies, under the command of count de Guichen, the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prose-

cute their original design of attacking New York. But, when the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, intelligence arrived that de Guichen had sailed for France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying. Their pleasing anticipations were suddenly extinguished, and deeper shades were added to the heavy cloud, which, for some time past, had hung over their affairs.

Whilst the American cause was thus openly endangered by defeat and disappointment, it was secretly assailed by domestic treachery. A distinguished officer engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post. The person who committed this foul crime, was general Arnold, of Connecticut; a man who had been amongst the first to take up arms against Great Britain, and to widen the breach between the parent state and the colonies. His conspicuous military talents had procured him every honour that a grateful nation could bestow. Poets and painters had marked him as a rich subject for their labours. His country had not only loaded him with honours, but forgiven him his peculations. Though, in his army accounts, there was much room to suspect imposition, yet the recollection of his gallantry and good conduct in the field, had in a great measure, consigned them to oblivion. But the generosity of the states did not keep pace with his extravagance. A sumptuous table and expensive equipage, unsupported by the resources of private fortune, and unaided by economy, soon increased his debts, beyond a possibility of his discharging them. Oppression, extortion, and misapplication of the public money, furnished him with the means of gratifying his ruling passions: treachery and ingratitude afforded the only hope of evading a scrutiny, and replenishing his exhausted coffers. He solicited for the command of West Point, called the Gibraltar of America; a post strengthened for the defence of the North River, and deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges, shelving one above another, rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. Some, even then, entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity. But Washington, in the unsuspecting spirit of a soldier, granted his request, and intrusted him with the important barrier. Thus invested with the command, Arnold began a correspondence with sir Henry Clinton; and agreed, that he would make a disposition of his forces, which



would enable the British general to surprise West Point; under such circumstances, that the garrison must either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces. The agent employed by sir Henry Clinton, was major Andre, adjutant-general of the British army; a young officer of great hopes and uncommon merit. His fidelity pointed him out for this negotiation; but his candour made him inexpert in the necessary arts of deception. When returning from a conference with Arnold, divested of his uniform, he was intercepted on the 22d of September, near Tarrytown, by three faithful militia soldiers, John Paulding, Isaac Van Wert, and David Williams; and, by the laws of war, forfeited his life to a country struggling with an accumulation of disasters, and constrained to guard, by the most vigilant attention, against the destructive agency of treason.

The exchange of one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army, was the only effect of this grand project of the enemy. Arnold, who, on the capture of major Andre, had escaped, was immediately appointed a brigadier-general in the service of Great Britain. But, though his new companions had wished to profit by the treason, they viewed the traitor with contempt. "What treatment," inquired Arnold from a British officer, "am I to expect, should the rebels make me their prisoner?"—"They will cut off," replied the officer, "the leg that was wounded at Saratoga, and bury it, with all the honours of war; but, having no respect for the rest of your body, they will hang it on a gibbet."\*

It is a subject of reproach to the United States, that they so much indulged a man of Arnold's character: but it is honourable to human nature, that a great revolution, continued through an eight years' war, produced only one such example. His singular case, however, enforces the policy, indeed the moral obligation, of conferring high trust, exclusively, on men of unspotted reputation; and of withholding all confidential situations from those who are under the dominion of expensive pleasure.

France was not the only nation that felt an interest in the colonial war. Spain did not suffer the favourable juncture to elapse, without attempting to regain at least a part of her former losses in the western hemisphere. The summer in which Louis had declared his friendship for the

\* General Arnold died in London, in 1801.

United States, had scarcely commenced, when the Spanish monarch, on some general pretences, announced hostilities against Britain; and directed his governor of Louisiana to invade her settlements in East and West Florida; an enterprise attended with complete success. But he was not so fortunate in the designs of recovering Gibraltar and Jamaica. By the vigilance of admirals Rodney and Darby, general Elliot, having received a supply of provisions for the starving garrison of Gibraltar, was enabled, by extraordinary exertions, to frustrate the Spaniards, in their memorable siege of that great fortress; and the superior seamanship of Rodney having produced the defeat and capture of admiral De Grasse, in the West Indies, there no longer existed any fear for the safety of Jamaica.

These abortive plans operated severely against the United States; especially the latter misfortune: which, as already noticed, prevented the co-operation of count de Guichen with admiral de Ternay, when the latter was blocked up by the English, at Rhode Island. But this was, in a short time, counterbalanced, by the opposition made to Great Britain through the armed neutrality of the northern powers, and a rupture between that country and the Dutch.

The naval superiority of England had, for ages, been to the other European states a subject of envy and regret. The imperious claim which she had long enforced, that the flags of all nations should pay obeisance to her ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This, however, was not their only subject of complaint. Various litigations had arisen, between the commanders of British armed vessels and those in the service of neutral countries, as to the extent of the commerce allowable during a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on capturing all supplies intended for their enemies. The empress of Russia opposed this innovation; which, power, not right, had prompted them so injuriously to practise. She addressed a manifesto to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid; the three European belligerents. wherein she maintained, That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, of the nations at war, and on their coasts; and that all articles belonging to the contending parties, should, when on board those vessels, be free from capture; excepting warlike stores, and goods destined for places actually blockaded or besieged. These principles were communicated by Catharine to the Dutch

republic, and to the sovereigns of Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal; from all of whom, except the latter, a concurrence in opinion was received. Thus, the usurped authority of Great Britain was checked; a restraint the more embarrassing, as it emanated from a power in whose friendship she had confided.

Holland, it appears, required not the stimulating hand of Russia, to array her against a nation, which, in the preceding century, in violation of an ancient treaty, had surprised her colonies, and made extensive inroads on her commerce. Few European states had a brighter prospect of advantage from American independence: none was more acute in discerning, none more ready in discovering, the means of promoting the profit of her merchants. Complaints had been made by the court of London, respecting the illicit commerce alleged to be carrying on between the Dutch at St. Eustatia and the Americans; and succours were demanded by the former, agreeably with a compact formed in the reign of Charles the Second. But the event which occasioned a declaration of war, was the capture of Mr. Laurens, when on his passage to Holland, in order to negotiate a loan and a treaty on the part of the United States. Papers being found with the American minister, confirming the British in their suspicions of the hostile intention of the Dutch republic, the English ambassador received instruction from his government to depart from the Hague; and war against that country was soon afterwards published in London. The gathering storm of British vengeance burst forth on St. Eustatia; an island of small value in itself, but highly important as the seat of an extensive commerce. The wealth then concentrated in this barren spot, is almost incredible. The whole island seemed one vast magazine: the store-houses were filled, the beach was covered, with valuable commodities. The amount of three millions sterling fell into the hands of the British captors; a booty still farther increased by subsequent arrivals. Yet the public interest of Britain was deeply injured by the prize. Whilst admiral Rodney and his officers were bewildered in the sales of confiscated property at St. Eustatia; and, especially, whilst his fleet was weakened by a large detachment, sent with the produce of the sales to England; the French were silently executing a scheme, which insured them a superiority on the American coast, and caused the total ruin of the British army in the United States.



1781 Some extraneous aid appeared essential to support the patriots, amidst the numerous misfortunes which assailed them. At no period of the war, were their domestic affairs in a more deplorable situation. Famine, mutiny, amongst the Pennsylvania, and part of the New Jersey, troops; as well as a total annihilation of public credit; threatened the dissolution of the army, and a melancholy termination of all their labours. The American general Clinton, in a letter to Washington, dated at Albany, about the middle of April, says; "There is not now, independent of Fort Schuyler, three days' provisions for the troops, in the whole department; nor any prospect of procuring any. The recruits of the new levies I cannot receive, because I have nothing to give them. The Canadian families I have been obliged to deprive of their scanty pittance; contrary to every principle of humanity. The quarter-master's department is wholly useless. The public armoury has been shut up for nearly three weeks; and a total suspension of every military operation has ensued."

These events, however, were not unforeseen by the rulers of America. New resources were providentially opened, and the war was carried on with the same vigour as before. A large amount of gold and silver was introduced, by a beneficial trade with the Spanish West India islands; and the king of France lent the United States several millions of livres, besides pledging his security for a larger sum borrowed for their use in Holland. A regular system of finance also was adopted, under the direction of Robert Morris; who made the different arrangements with great judgment and economy. The Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, the oldest monied institution in the United States, this year established by a charter from congress, was eminently useful in furnishing it with the sinews of war. The issuing of paper money under the authority of government was discontinued, and the public engagements were made payable in coin. The old continental money ceased to have currency. Two hundred millions of paper dollars were made redeemable by five millions of silver; a measure submitted to without any tumults. Public faith was indeed violated: but the money, having, in a great measure, gone out of the hands of those who had received it at the original value, it was in the possession of others, who had obtained it at the rate not exceeding what was fixed by the scale of depreciation; and the redemption of the bills at their nominal value, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would,

it was thought, in many cases have increased them; by subjecting their property to a taxation of greater amount than that of the paper which had finally rested in their hands.

The British were at this time, carrying on the most extensive plan of operations attempted since the beginning of the war. Hostilities raged, not only in the vicinity of their head-quarters at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The industry with which the perfidious Arnold lent his aid, under his new commission, was calculated to impress the idea of a sincere devotion to the British cause. His extensive ravages, together with his plundering achievements, in Virginia and Connecticut, made it difficult to judge, whether his recent warfare, in the character of incendiary and robber, did not more than compensate the enemy for the damage before sustained from the arms of his heroic countrymen, led by himself to successive victories, through a desire of fame.

The good fortune which attended the British troops, since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object, by advancing from the latter to North Carolina. To relieve the southern states, though congress were unable to forward either men or money, yet they did what was equivalent. They sent them a general, whose military talents were equal to a numerous army. The nomination to this important trust was left to the commander in chief. He mentioned general Greene, as an officer in whose abilities, fortitude, and integrity, from a long and intimate acquaintance, he had the most entire confidence.

The same day on which general Greene took charge of the army at Charlotteville, he received information of a gallant enterprise by colonel (late captain) Washington. Being on a foraging excursion, this active officer had penetrated within thirteen miles of Camden, to Clermont; the seat of colonel Rugely, of the British militia. This was fortified by a block-house, encompassed by an abattis, and defended by one hundred inhabitants who had submitted to the royal government. Colonel Washington advanced before it, mounted the trunk of a pine tree on wagon-wheels, so as to resemble a field-piece, and peremptorily demanded a surrender. The stratagem had the desired effect. Dreading a cannonade, the garrison instantly obeyed the summons, without a shot having been fired on either side.

The whole southern army now consisted of about two

thousand men; more than half of whom were militia, in a very relaxed state of discipline. Having divided his force, the commander sent general Morgan with a detachment into the district of Ninety-six, in the western extremity of South Carolina; whilst he himself marched with the main body to Hick's creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill. Morgan was not long without employment. Lord Cornwallis, being at this time far advanced in preparations for invading North Carolina, could not, agreeably with the policy of war, leave an enemy in his rear; and therefore sent against him colonel Tarleton, at the head of about eleven hundred men. Tarleton had two field-pieces, a superiority of infantry, in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry, in the proportion of three to one. With these advantages, he attacked general Morgan at the Cowpens, on the 17th of January; with the expectation of driving him out of the state. But the impetuosity of Tarleton, which had gained him high reputation, when he had surprised an incautious enemy, or attacked a panic-struck militia, was at this time the occasion of his ruin. Impatient of delay, he engaged with fatigued troops, led them into action before they were properly formed, or the reserve had taken its ground; and after one of the severest conflicts witnessed in the course of the whole war, was defeated, with the loss of three hundred men killed and wounded; besides five hundred prisoners, his artillery, and baggage. The Americans had only twelve killed and sixty wounded. General Morgan was ably supported by colonels Washington, Howard, and Pickens; who, as well as their commander, were honoured by congress with distinguished testimonies of their good conduct in this arduous engagement.

Tarleton could not bear to hear his enemy praised. When some ladies in Charleston were eulogizing colonel Washington, he replied, with a scornful air; "I would be very glad to get a sight of colonel Washington: I have heard much talk of him, but have never yet seen him."—"Had you looked behind you, at the battle of the Cowpens," rejoined one of the ladies, "you might easily have enjoyed that pleasure."

The defeat of Tarleton, his favourite officer, surprised and mortified, but did not discourage, lord Cornwallis. By vigorous exertion, he hoped soon to repair the late disaster; and, accordingly, commenced a pursuit of general Morgan; who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners.



Greene immediately left his main army under the command of general Huger, and, escorted by a few dragoons, rode a hundred and fifty miles through the country, to join the detachment under Morgan; that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and superintend the movements of both divisions. As Cornwallis was gaining ground upon him, the American commander ordered the prisoners to Charlotteville, and the troops to Guilford Court-house; whither, he had directed Huger to proceed with the main army. The British general at length destroyed nearly all his baggage; and thus, relieved from the burthen of every appendage not essential for immediate subsistence, urged the pursuit, with so much rapidity, that he reached the Catawba the evening of the same day on which his flying adversary had crossed it. Before the next day, a heavy fall of rain made the river impassable; an event, which, in a signal manner, favoured the Americans: had it taken place only a few hours earlier, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and five hundred prisoners, would have had scarcely any chance of escaping. Still, the ardour of the British was unabated. When the freshet had, in some degree, subsided, they marched through the river, which was upwards of five hundred yards wide, and three feet deep; sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning a single shot until they had effected their passage. As soon as they reached the shore, the Americans dispersed. The latter continued to fly, and the former to pursue. But the swelling of the river Yadkin again offered a barrier to obstruct the British army: a second interposition of the floods; which, being considered, by many, as the immediate hand of Providence, gave fresh vigour to their exertions in favour of independence.

In the meantime, the two divisions of the American army had formed a junction, at Guilford Court-house; but their number was so much inferior to the British, that general Greene could not, with any propriety, risk an action. He therefore held a council of officers; who unanimously concurred in opinion, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and avoid a battle, until re-enforced. Lord Cornwallis had yet hopes of intercepting the Americans, before they reached Virginia. But in this expectation he was deceived. The rapidity of one general was evaded by a corresponding celerity in the other. On the 14th of February, the American light troops having retired on that day upwards of forty

miles, general Greene crossed the river Dan into that province, with his entire army, artillery, and baggage.

He did not allow his men to remain long inactive. Being informed that many of the inhabitants of North Carolina were preparing to make submission to the British general, he shortly afterwards re-crossed the river; accompanied by a brigade of Virginia militia; for the purpose of keeping alive the courage of his party. Some of his light troops, who, commanded by colonel (late major) Lee, fell in with three hundred and fifty of the royalists, on their way to join the British standard at Hillsborough, mistaking the Americans for a royal detachment sent to their support, were cut down, as they were crying out "God save the king!" and making protestations of their loyalty. That was not the only misfortune of a similar kind, which attended these unnatural attempts at co-operation. Colonel Tarleton put to the sword several parties of the same description, in their advance to the British quarters; mistaking them for the patriotic militia of the country: events which overset all the schemes of lord Cornwallis, and entirely stopped the recruiting service in behalf of the royal army.

Whilst general Greene was unequal even to defensive operations, he lay, for seven days, within a few miles of the British camp: but took a new position every night; by which frequency of movement, lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation, in time to attack him with proper advantage. He manœuvred in this manner for three weeks; during which time, he was often obliged to ask bread from the common soldiers, having no provisions of his own. At the end of that period, a re-enforcement arrived. This gave him a superiority of numbers, and determined him no longer to avoid a battle. An action took place, on the 15th of March, at Guilford Court-house. The American army consisted of four thousand four hundred men, drawn up in three lines; of whom more than half were militia; the British, of twenty-four hundred; chiefly troops inured to victory. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns, and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. It gave way before the enemy were within a hundred yards. This was owing to the misconduct of a colonel; who called out to an officer at some distance, that he would be surrounded. The militia were obliged to quit the field. The regulars maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half; but the discipline of the British soldiers finally pre-

ailed. A retreat was therefore directed; and general Greene, about four hundred of his men having been killed or wounded, retired in good order to Speedwell's iron works, ten miles from the field of battle. This was a dearly purchased victory. Lord Cornwallis lost the service of a third of his army, by death or wounds, and was in no condition to improve his advantage.

One day, in the middle of winter, general Greene, when passing a sentinel who was barefooted, said: "I fear, my good fellow, you suffer much from the severe cold."—"Yes, very much," was the reply, "but I do not complain. I know I should fare better, had our general the means of getting supplies. They say, however, that, in a few days, we shall have a fight; and then, I shall take care to secure a pair of shoes."

In the same campaign, Dr. Faysough, when joining Greene's army, called at the hut of general Huger, and was refused admission. The doctor insisted on his right to enter: the sentinel repeated his refusal. But Huger, recognizing the voice of his friend, ordered that he should be allowed to pass. "Pardon me, sir," said the general, who lay on the ground, wrapped up in an old military cloak, "for this ungracious reception. The fate of war has robbed me of every comfort, and I confined myself to solitude and an old cloak, while my washerwoman is preparing the only shirt I own."

During those distressing occurrences, the whig inhabitants of South Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumpter and Marion; the former, in the western extremity, ably supported by colonels Neil, Lacey, Hill, Bratton, Winn, and Brandon; the latter, in the north-eastern; aided by colonels Peter and Hugh Horry, colonels Baxter and Postell, with majors Postell and James.

An affair in which major Postell was concerned, may serve to show the spirit of the times, and, especially, the indifference for property which then prevailed. A captain of the royal army, with twenty-five grenadiers, having taken post in the house of Postell's father, the major placed his small army of twenty-one militia, so as to command its doors, and then called on them to surrender. This being refused, he set fire to an out-house; was proceeding to burn the dwelling in which they were posted; and nothing but their immediate submission restrained him from sacrificing his father's valuable establishment for the interest of his country.



Another event is still more worthy of admiration; as proceeding from the patriotic feeling of the female sex, who are less enabled to recover, by future industry, from the devastations of civil war. The British having built some works around Mrs. Motte's dwelling, situated above the fork, on the south side of the Congaree, she aided the Americans in burning her own house; and was thus the means of compelling the garrison of nearly two hundred men to surrender at discretion. The manner of accomplishing this was singular. Opposite to the hill on which this lady's mansion stood, was another elevation, where she resided in the old farm-house. On this height, colonel Lee was posted, while general Marion occupied the eastern declivity of the ridge on which the fort stood. Lee having imparted to Mrs. Motte his design of burning her mansion by means of combustible matter conveyed by arrows, this magnanimous woman cheerfully presented him with a bow and its apparatus imported from India. The first arrow struck, and kindled a flame: a second and a third were equally successful, and very soon the entire roof was in a blaze.

The escape of one of the prisoners taken at Mrs. Motte's house, was attended with a remarkable incident. Amongst the tories, was a person named Smith; who, greatly dreading the resentment of his countrymen, prevailed on a sickly man, to whom he was hand-cuffed, to join him in eluding the guard. They had not travelled far into the woods, before his yoke-fellow, quite exhausted by fatigue, declared he could go no farther, and fell insensible, in a swoon. Confined by the hand-cuffs, Smith was compelled to lie by him two days and as many nights, without meat or drink; his comrade being frequently in convulsions. On the third day, he died. Smith could remain no longer: with his knife, he separated himself from the dead man, by cutting off his arm at the elbow, which he bore with him to the royal garrison at Charleston.

An American soldier, flying from a party of the enemy, sought the protection of Mrs. Richard Shubrick. His pursuers pressing closely after him, insisted that he should be delivered up, and, in case of refusal, threatened immediate destruction to her house. But, this intrepid female placed herself before the chamber into which the unfortunate fugitive had been conducted, and resolutely said; "To men of honour, the chamber of a lady should be sacred. I will defend it, though I perish. You may succeed and enter it;

but it shall be over my corpse.”—The officer was, for a moment, speechless. “If muskets,” he exclaimed, “were placed in the hands of a few such women, our only safety would be in retreat. Your heroism, Madam, protects you; I relinquish the pursuit.”

So much, indeed, were the ladies of the south habituated to injuries, and so warmly were they interested in the contest, that misfortunes were a cause rather of jocularities, than regret. Mrs. Sabina Elliott having witnessed the activity of an officer who had ordered the plundering of her poultry-house, and finding an old Muscovy drake which had escaped the general search, had it caught, ordered a servant to follow, on horseback, and deliver the fowl to the officer; with her compliments, that she concluded, in the hurry of departure, it had been left behind, altogether by mistake.

An anecdote is related of Mrs. Charles Elliott. A British officer, noted for inhumanity and oppression, meeting this lady in a garden adorned with a great variety of flowers, asked the name of the chamomile, which seemed to flourish with remarkable luxuriance. “That is the rebel flower,” she replied.—“The rebel flower!” rejoined the officer, “Why did it receive that name?”—“Because,” answered the lady, “it thrives most, when most trampled on.”

Volumes would not record all the heroism of the American females. Shortly after the commencement of the war, the family of Dr. Channing, then residing in England, removed to France, and sailed thence in a well-armed vessel for America. They had proceeded only a short way, when they were attacked by a privateer. A fierce engagement ensued; during which, Mrs. Channing staid on deck, handing cartridges, dressing the wounded, and exhorting the crew to resist till death. The colours of her vessel, were, however, struck; when, seizing the pistols and side-arms of her husband, she threw them into the sea; declaring, that she would rather die than see them surrendered to the English.

The boys also were courageous, and wielded the arms of war at a very tender age. At the battle of Ramsour’s Mill, when captain Falls received a mortal wound, and fell, his son, a youth of fourteen, rushed to the body, when the man, who had shot him, was beginning to plunder it; and, regardless of his opponent’s strength, snatched up his father’s sword, and laid him dead at his parent’s feet.

The movements of lord Cornwallis after the battle of

Guilford, indicated rather a defeat than a victory. Leaving his sick and wounded with the neighbouring loyalists, he began a march towards Wilmington; which had all the appearance of a retreat. The Americans followed, until they arrived at Ramsey's mill, on Deep river. Cornwallis refreshed his army for about three weeks, and then moved to Petersburg, in Virginia. Even before it was known that the British commander had determined on this step, general Greene had formed the bold resolution of returning to South Carolina. Here, the British had erected a chain of forts, from the capital to the extreme districts of the state; which had regular communication with each other. The first object of Greene's attack, was Camden; a village garrisoned by lord Rawdon, with nine hundred men. But, as his force consisted only of about an equal number of continentals, with a few hundred militia, he was unequal to the task of carrying the place by storm, or of completely investing it; and therefore chose a good position, about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison from their lines. Lord Rawdon indulged him in his desire. With great spirit, he sallied out, on the 25th of April, and defeated his antagonist, at Hobkirk Hill; after which, he returned to Camden; while the Americans, having retreated in good order, encamped about five miles beyond their former position.

Soon afterwards, lord Rawdon, finding that his communication with the capital was cut off, burned a considerable portion of the town, and retired to the southward of the Santee. The British lost six posts in rapid succession, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of the state. But the bright prospect, now opening to the American army, was, in a short time, obscured, by a heavy gloom. When nearly masters of the whole country, they experienced many severe repulses, particularly at Ninety-six, (afterwards named Cambridge,) and were compelled to retreat to its utmost boundary. Greene was advised to retire, with his remaining force, to Virginia. To this suggestion, he replied, "I will recover South Carolina, or die in the attempt." He adopted the only expedient now left him; that of avoiding an engagement, until the British force should be divided. His determination was rewarded with most signal success. After a series of manœuvres, which deranged the entire plan of the British operations, on the eighth of September, he attacked their main body, encamped, under the command of colonel Stuart, at Eutaw



Springs, and overthrew them, with a loss, on their side, of eleven hundred men, including prisoners and wounded.

When Marion's brigade was engaged in this battle, captain Gee was supposed to be mortally wounded. A ball passed through the cock of his hat, very much tearing, not only the crown, but also his head. He lay, for many hours, insensible; but, suddenly reviving, his first inquiry was after his hat: which being brought to him, a friend at the same time lamenting the mangled state of his head, he exclaimed: "Oh, I care nothing about my head: time and the doctors will mend that; but it grieves me to think that the rascals have ruined my new hat for ever."

In the close of the year, Greene moved down into the lower country; and, about the same time, the British, abandoning their out-posts, retired, with their whole force, to Charleston Neck. The holding of the interior was relinquished: the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, now seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital.

The battle of Eutaw may be considered as ending the war in South Carolina: a few excursions were afterwards made by the British; but nothing of more general consequence than the loss of property and of individual lives.

When last we spoke of lord Cornwallis, he was marching towards Petersburg. Various plans of operation had occurred to him: whether he should return to South Carolina by sea; follow general Greene directly through the barren country; or, leaving that province to the care of lord Rawdon, persevere in his design against Virginia. The last object was, after much deliberation, embraced; judging that the possession of this state would, at any time, insure the obedience of South Carolina. In less than a month he reached Petersburg; where he was joined by a numerous detachment, under general Philips: but, in proceeding on his march, he was closely observed, and occasionally impeded, by the Marquis La Fayette; who, with a few thousand troops, was intrusted with the principal command in Virginia. At Williamsburg, the rear of the British army, being attacked by colonel Butler, sustained considerable loss; and was afterwards much harassed by the manœuvring of general Wayne. Finally, lord Cornwallis, in conformity with the instructions of sir Henry Clinton, but much against his own judgment, took a station at York

town, as the most desirable for a strong, permanent place of arms, both for the army and navy

Expecting a re-enforcement from the West Indies, the British naval officers conceived that important operations would shortly be commenced in Virginia. But, whilst they were indulging these hopes, the count De Grasse, with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail, entered the Chesapeake; and, about the same time, intelligence arrived, that the combined armies, which had been stationed in the more northern states, were approaching. Before they had fully contemplated the danger of their situation, De Grasse blocked up York River with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of his fleet in Lynhaven Bay. Three thousand French troops, commanded by the marquis De St. Simon, were disembarked; which, having formed a junction with the continental troops under La Fayette, the whole took post at Williamsburg. An attack on this force was designed: but, in consequence of promised re-enforcements, lord Cornwallis thought it more consistent with military prudence to defer his original intention: and, as his instructions to hold his ground were considered positive, he used, at this period, no endeavour to abandon his station, though becoming, every day, more dangerous.

Admiral Greaves, with twenty sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of Cornwallis; but without effecting his purpose. On the 5th of September, when he appeared off the capes of Virginia, count De Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place. The British were willing to renew the action; but De Grasse, for good reasons, declined the challenge. His chief design was to cover a French fleet, of eight line of battle ships, expected from Rhode Island; an object which he accomplished: for, whilst he was manœuvring with admiral Greaves, they passed the latter in the night, and got within the capes. This gave the French a decided superiority: Greaves soon departed, and De Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake.

Before sir Henry Clinton was informed of that engagement, his solicitude had urged him to send a gallant officer, with a letter to lord Cornwallis. This hazardous duty was performed by major Cochrane. The British admiral had left the Virginia waters before his arrival: yet at every peril, he ran through the whole French fleet, in an open

boat, landed safely, and delivered his despatches; but immediately, his head was shot off by a cannon ball.

The loss ultimately sustained by the British, in the capture of St. Eustatia, was now apparent. Weakened by the absence of a squadron sent to England with the wealth acquired in that island, their fleet was rendered inferior to the French; and thus, although individuals were enriched, the interest of the nation was involved in ruin.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the well-digested plan of the campaign, the French and American forces were marching through the middle states, on their way to Yorktown.

New York had been fixed as the grand object of assault; but subsequent events had rendered an attack on Yorktown more desirable. A show of prosecuting the original design, was, nevertheless, continued. A letter from general Washington, detailing the particulars of the first intended operations, had been intercepted by sir Henry Clinton; so that this officer bent his whole force to the strengthening of that post: and, believing that every movement towards Virginia was a feint, he suffered the allied forces to pass him unmolested.

Washington and Rochambeau reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September; and, with a few confidential officers, visited the count De Grasse on board his ship, and decided the arrangements. On the 25th, the combined forces, under the care of general Nelson, arrived there; and, in a few days afterwards, general Washington moved down with the whole towards Yorktown.

The works erected for its security, on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right; over which, was placed a large redoubt. A morass extended along the centre, guarded by a line of stockade and batteries. On the left of the centre, was a horn-work, with a ditch, a row of frise, and an abattis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces took possession of an outward position, from which the British had retired. About this time, the latter detached some cavalry to Gloucester; which, general De Choisy so fully invested, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the meantime, the royal army were exerting every nerve to complete their half-finished works, and impede, by their artillery, the operations of the combined army. On the 9th of October, the latter opened their batteries, and kept



up a well-directed fire, from heavy cannon, mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the vessels in the harbour.

On the 10th, another messenger arrived, with a despatch from sir Henry Clinton to lord Cornwallis, which stated various circumstances, tending to lessen the probability of relief, by a direct movement from New York.

The besiegers commenced their second parallel, two hundred yards from the British works; but, two redoubts, advanced on the left of these, greatly impeded the progress of the combined army. It was, therefore, proposed to enter them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the French; of the other, to the Americans. The latter, led by colonels Hamilton and Laurens, marched to the assault with unloaded muskets; and, having passed the abattis and palisades, overcame the redoubt in a few minutes, with inconsiderable loss. Eight of the British were killed, one hundred and twenty were captured, and a few escaped. The French were equally successful; though at a greater expense of lives. They took the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity; but, being more numerously opposed, their loss amounted to nearly one hundred men. These works being, immediately afterwards, included in the second parallel, their occupation facilitated the subsequent approaches.

The situation of the besieged was hourly growing more distressing. Their fate was hastening to a crisis. The assailants poured destruction upon them, from the very means which they had erected for defence; whilst continued sallies to repel them, could not, with propriety, be risked. One was projected, with four hundred men, commanded by colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and spike eleven pieces of cannon; but, though the officers and privates displayed great bravery in this enterprise, their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time, the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; and the works of the besieged were so much damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had no safety left, except in capitulation or escape. He determined on the latter. Means were accordingly prepared, to carry the troops, in the night, to Gloucester Point; but, after one party had crossed over, a violent storm dis-

persed the boats, and frustrated the entire design. Thus weakened by separation, the royal army was exposed to increased danger; and orders were sent to those who had passed, to return. Longer resistance would aggravate, without offering the remotest probability of averting, their misfortune. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and the appointment of commissioners to arrange the terms of a surrender. A capitulation was agreed on; by which, the posts of York and Gloucester were entered by the combined forces, on the 19th of October. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to Cornwallis: and Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army, precisely in the same way in which sir Henry Clinton had received his own.

The troops of every kind that surrendered, exceeded seven thousand; but, so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were not four thousand capable of bearing arms. The regular forces, employed in their reduction, consisted of seven thousand French, and five thousand five hundred Americans, with the addition of about four thousand militia.

This may be considered as the closing scene of the revolutionary war. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents were combined with singular propriety. The French and American engineers and artillery merited the highest praise. Generals Du Portail and Knox, with colonel Gouvion, and captain Rochefontaine, were promoted. Washington, Rochambeau, De Grasse, and all the officers and men under their command, were honoured with the thanks of Congress. Unusual transports of joy pervaded the whole people. It is asserted, that the nerves of some were so agitated, as to produce convulsions; and the aged door-keeper of congress, expired from the violence of his feelings. General Washington ordered, that those who were under military arrests, should be pardoned, and that divine service should be performed in the different brigades of the army; at which, he recommended the presence of all the troops not upon duty, to assist, with a serious deportment and grateful heart, in offering thanks to that Providence who had so remarkably extended his hand in their behalf. Moved by a similar feeling, congress resolved to go in procession to church, to

give public acknowledgment to Almighty God; and issued a proclamation for religiously observing the 13th of December following, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer.

We cannot quit this interesting period of our history, without paying a tribute of respect to the admirable deportment of the French army, since their first arrival in the United States. At Rhode Island, where they had spent the chief part of their time, they conducted themselves towards the inhabitants as brothers. In their march to Yorktown, five hundred miles of their journey lay through a country abounding in fruit, and at a time when the most delicious productions of nature, growing on and near the high-ways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites, rendered eager by the effects of a parching sun; yet, in this long route, amongst a people of different principles, customs, language, and religion, so complete was their discipline, that scarcely an instance could be produced of a peach or an apple being taken, without the consent of the inhabitants.

A happy reward of all their labours, a full compensation for the streams of blood so generously shed by the American patriots, were now almost obtained. The year terminated in every part of the United States, in favour of the cause of freedom. It began with weakness, mutiny, and devastation, and ended in confidence, victory, and joy.

General Washington, with the greater part of his forces, returned, after the completion of this conquest, to New York. An obstruction of the intercourse between the town and country, was all that he at this period attempted; and the British, on their part, were contented to remain within their lines. In Carolina, the same conduct was mutually observed. But, in one of the desultory skirmishes which occurred in the neighbourhood of Charleston, the Americans had to deplore the loss of the amiable and intrepid colonel Laurens. In Georgia, the war ended with a severe, though indecisive, engagement, near Savannah; in which, the royal troops, aided by a large number of Creek Indians, were opposed by an American detachment under general Wayne. The English government, having determined to relinquish, at least for the present, an offensive warfare in the United States, withdrew their forces from this, and the adjoining province of South Carolina.

It was happy for all the contending parties, that the national pride of Britain did not interfere, to prevent what was so forcibly urged by policy. Humbled by the defeat



at Yorktown, it required the splendid victories gained by her navy in the West Indies and her army at Gibraltar, to reconcile her to the independence of the revolted colonies; for, England never admits that she is vanquished. France, as well as Spain, saw no prospect of success. Disappointed in their immediate views, both, it may easily be conceived, would have sheathed the sword, and allowed the young republic to struggle, unaided, for existence. Britain, wearied by a contest, in which one hundred millions sterling had been added to her debt, and the lives wasted of fifty thousand of her subjects; in which, defeat was doubly disgraceful, and victory without the consolation of renown, would gladly have desisted from offensive operations in the United States. But the Americans, firm to their stipulations, were determined not to remain inactive, and to conclude no arrangement which did not comprise their European allies.

In the British parliament, which met in December, shortly after the capitulation at Yorktown became known in London, the decided language of the king's speech, pointing to the continuance of the American war, was approved, or, at least, assented to, by a majority of both lords and commons. A few days afterwards, a motion was introduced in the lower house, declaring, That all farther attempts to reduce the Americans, to obedience, by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the best interests of Great Britain. This, however, was not carried; though the debate on the subject was prolonged until two o'clock in the morning, and the friends of peace, amongst whom Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox were particularly distinguished for their eloquence, had received additional strength. As the opposition party became every day more numerous, and the nation was now almost universally actuated by the same feelings, general Conway soon afterwards brought forward  
1782 a similar resolution; which, after much strenuous debating, was successful, by a respectable majority.

A new administration was the necessary consequence of this change in the public sentiment. Lord North's situation was assigned to the marquis of Rockingham; and, on the decease of the latter, the chief reins of government were intrusted to the earl of Shelburne, assisted by William Pitt, son of the celebrated lord Chatham. This nobleman, whose memory is entitled to the highest degree of respect and gratitude, in the breast of every American, had been removed in the year 1778, by death, from the

uneasy contemplation of those destructive measures which he had so ably combated, and which were now on the eve of being abandoned.

To remove constitutional impediments, an act of parliament was passed, giving the crown a power of negotiating with the revolted colonies; an indispensable authority: as, by the terms on which the king holds the executive functions of the British empire, he cannot divest it of any of its ancient appendages.

Commissioners on the part of Great Britain and her late colonies, entered on the important business of pacification, at Paris. The latter confided their interests to John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens; the former, to Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald. Two of the first sovereigns of Europe, the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany, were mediators in promoting the desirable agreement. Preliminary articles of peace were signed

1783 on the 30th of November, 1782; and on the 3rd of September in the next year, they were ratified and inserted in a definitive treaty between Great Britain and France. The independence of the states was acknowledged. Very ample boundaries were allowed them; comprehending the fertile and extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east side of the Mississippi. They were also allowed the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and in all other waters hitherto visited for that purpose by both nations. The ministers of congress procured for their countrymen better terms than they had reason to expect; larger boundaries than the states, when colonies, had ever claimed: but the additional territories might, if retained by Great Britain, have occasioned another war.

Peace was proclaimed in the American army, on the 9th of April; just eight years from the memorable day when the first blood was shed between the colonies and the parent state, in the fields of Lexington and Concord.

In the midst of the pleasing reflections on the past, and anticipations of the future, the circumstances of the brave Americans who had spent the prime of their lives in combating even more than a human enemy could inflict, drew forth the commiseration of every generous breast. The states, which owed to them their political existence, were unable, at this period, to fulfil their stipulations with their troops; and several were unwilling, through selfish motives, to join with congress in establishing an uniform rate of im-

port duties, from which a fund might arise for doing justice to them hereafter. Officers and privates were about to be dismissed, many of whom had not, for five years, received the smallest pecuniary compensation, to reward their dangers and fatigues, or cancel the debts contracted in their absence by their families. Consequences the most serious were apprehended. Anonymous letters (since ascertained to have been written by general Armstrong) were circulated, to inflame the minds of the unrequited forces, and induce them to insist on a redress of grievances, before they parted with their arms. The dignified coolness of general Washington interposed to dispel the storm. He requested the general and field officers, and an officer from each company, to assemble at an early day; and, previous to the meeting, sent for one of them after another, and enlarged, in private, on the loss of character, to the whole army, which would result from intemperate resolutions. When they were afterwards convened, he addressed them in a speech, well calculated to soothe their minds; pledging himself to exert all his influence in their favour, and appealing to their honour, their humanity, and their regard to the military as well as the national character of their rising country. He then retired. No reply whatever was attempted. Softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, those who had entered the meeting irritated in the highest degree, by the contemplation of their wrongs and the extent of their sufferings, acquiesced in a resolution, "That no circumstances of distress, or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of congress and their country; and that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous proposition in the late anonymous addresses."

Soon afterwards, congress determined, that the officers who preferred an immediate sum to the half-pay for life, before promised them, should be entitled to receive, in its place, the amount of five years' full pay, in money, or in securities bearing interest.

To avoid the inconvenience of dismissing a great number of soldiers, in a body, furloughs were readily granted to individuals; without enjoining their return. Thus, a great part of an unpaid army was disbanded, and dispersed over the several states, without tumult or disorder. About eighty, however, of the Pennsylvania levies, formed an ex-



ception to the general disposition of the army. Having, in defiance of their officers, marched to Philadelphia, where they prevailed on some other troops to join them, the whole, amounting to upwards of three hundred, proceeded, with fixed bayonets, to the statehouse, in which, congress and the executive council of Pennsylvania were assembled; placed guards at the door, and sent in a written message to the president and council, threatening them with military vengeance, if their demands were not satisfied in less than twenty minutes. Dreading the fury of an enraged soldiery, congress, after a three hours' confinement, retired, and appointed their next place of meeting at Princeton. Washington again displayed his parental care. He immediately ordered a strong detachment of his army to march to Philadelphia. Several of the mutineers were tried, and condemned to suffer death; but they were all ultimately pardoned. Four months' pay was, afterwards, through the great exertions of the superintendent of finance, given to the army; a sum, which, although trifling, was all the recompense the states were at that time able to make.

On the 25th of November, about three weeks after the American army was discharged, New York was evacuated by the British forces; and Washington, accompanied by governor Clinton, made a public entry into that city, in grand procession. An interesting moment was approaching. The period arrived, when the commander in chief was to bid adieu to his officers; men endeared to him by a long series of common sufferings and dangers, and by the successful issue of their exertions. The parting was solemn and affecting. Calling for a glass of wine, Washington thus addressed them: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former have been glorious and honourable." The officers advanced to him successively; he took an affectionate farewell of each; and then passed through a corps of light infantry to the place of embarkation. They followed in mute procession, with countenances expressive of their serious feelings. He entered the barge, turned to the companions of his glory, waved his hat, and bade them a silent adieu.

His military cares being ended, Washington lent his fostering regard to the civil administration. Anxious that they should enjoy in tranquillity what they had gained by so great an expenditure of lives, he addressed a circular letter to the governors of the different states; in which, with all

the charms of his distinguished eloquence, he inculcated the necessity of justice, of subordination to the arrangements required by their new situation, and improvement in the original bond of political union.

He next proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. In every town and village through which he passed, he was met by demonstrations of gratitude and joy. The 23rd of December, having been appointed for that interesting ceremony, general Washington appeared before them; when, addressing the president, "The great events on which my resignation depended," said he, "having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence of my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task: which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, in the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations: my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army, in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services, and distinguished merits, of those gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, could have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend, in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having thus finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have

long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

After an eloquent and affecting reply by the president, general Mifflin, Washington withdrew. He hastened, with exquisite delight, to Mount Vernon; where he exchanged the anxious labours of the camp, for the pleasing industry of a farm; the instruments of war, for those of husbandry; and became the patron and example of ingenious and profitable agriculture, as well as the successful promoter of inland navigation.

Having thus followed the great military exertions of the American patriots to a happy termination, a short account of the legislative proceedings of the individual colonies may here be given with advantage.

The important revolution, as regarded their dependence on Great Britain, required a corresponding alteration in their governments. This had been recommended by the general congress, at an early period of the war. Except in Rhode Island, which retained the charter granted by Charles the second, conventions were assembled; which formed new constitutions, agreeably with the strictest principles of republicanism, retaining whatever was desirable in the original institutions, and providing every additional security against tyranny and corruption, that ingenuity or experience could dictate. In these, though, in some matters there is an opposition of sentiment, yet, in the main objects, tending to allow to man his natural right of liberty and equality, the features have a striking resemblance. With a few exceptions, the mind is uncontrolled in its intercourse with God. There is no inconvenience, either civil or political, suffered by individuals who differ in religious opinions from the predominant party in the state. All religions are equally protected; and all citizens of good moral character, not denying the existence of one superintending Being, with a future state of rewards and punishments, are, in most of the American communities, eligible to the highest honours that the several republics can confer.

The statute and common laws of England, formerly observed in the provincial courts of justice, remain in practice, as before, unless altered or annulled. The inestimable privilege, of British derivation, a trial by jury; the freedom of the press, with the additional right, in case of prosecuting for a libel, of giving evidence as to the truth of the facts alleged in the obnoxious publication, where the matter is a



proper subject of public interest; are declared fundamental principles of the newly adopted constitutions: also, that debtors shall not be imprisoned, after delivering to their creditors a true schedule of all their property; that capital punishments shall be inflicted only for enormous crimes; and that no conviction in a court of justice shall cause the forfeiture of the criminal's estate, or any degree of injury to the rights of his descendants. No hereditary honours can be granted. No titles, except those which designate an office, are recognized by law. There is only one deviation from the latter essential mark of the republican spirit. Massachusetts has conferred the ephemeral title of "His Excellency" on the governor; and upon the lieutenant-governor, of the state, that of "His Honour." But, although these aristocratic customs are so generally denounced by the laws, they are eagerly followed by the people. They are universally usurped, and mutually allowed, by the members of the state and general governments, and as freely applied by their constituents. There are in the United States more nominal nobility, than any country in the world exhibits, of legitimate creation. Every governor is Excellent; every judge, senator, and representative, is Honourable; and every justice of the peace, distinguished by the chivalric title of Esquire. These frivolities should be carefully discouraged and the dangerous assumptions, by every real friend of liberty, opposed. They are the first robes in which a republic advances to aristocracy; thence, to monarchy; and, from monarchy, to oppression and extravagance.

The governments resemble, in their principal organization, the frame of the new federal constitution. They consist of three branches; a governor, a senate, and a house of representatives. But, in nearly all the states, property is required to qualify the candidates for their situations; and, in many, it is a requisite qualification in the elector. In New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania; Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia; the greatest liberality, in that respect, prevails. In those states, every free citizen of twenty-one years of age, after residing a certain time within the respective commonwealths, and contributing his share of the public expenditure, (excluding, in some, the inhabitants of colour,) is allowed a vote. Massachusetts and Connecticut; New York, New Jersey, and Virginia; confine the elective right to citizens possessed of property. New Jersey formerly extended the right of voting to females. Maryland allows no political liberty except to

Christians; North Carolina observes a similar jealousy of all but Protestants: and Christians are the only people entitled to general protection by the constitutions of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Senators are required to be more advanced in years than members of the lower house: they hold their stations for a longer period of time; and, in some states, are not chosen directly by the people, but by the representative bodies, or by intermediate electors, appointed by the former. In New York, and Maryland, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, clergy are not eligible as members of either branch of the legislature.

To enable the public to have the services of men, who, with integrity and talents, possess not adequate means of support when absent from their usual vocations, compensation is allowed to members of the legislature, during their journey to, and attendance at, the seat of government; a regulation similar to the ancient practice in England. That frequent recurrence may be had to the judgment of the people, the terms of representative service are short. Elections, for the lower branch, are, in general, made yearly. The votes are, in some states, given by ballot; in others, by open voice; both modes having their advocates; as it is difficult to ascertain whether, in practice, the former method is entitled to a preference.

The interruption suffered by foreign commerce, gave a lively stimulus to domestic ingenuity. To the revolution, the United States are indebted for the cultivation of sugar from the maple tree. Determined to use, so far as possible, no productions except of their own growth or manufacture, the inhabitants tried every means of supplying their conveniences from their native stores; and a farmer, at Bernardstown, in Massachusetts, in the early stage of the misunderstanding with the British parliament, succeeded in producing, from the northern forest, a species of sugar, little inferior to that usually manufactured from the cane.

The department of literature is the next subject that claims attention. Several years before the revolution, a type-foundry was commenced at Germantown, but employed chiefly for the presses of its owner, Christopher Sower, who printed the Bible, and other works, in the German language; and, in 1769, Abel Buel of Killingsworth, in Connecticut, began the casting of types, on a small scale: but, the first, who regularly pursued this business in the United States, was John Baine, of Edinburgh, who settled in Philadelphia, soon after the termination of the war.

Some of the early settlers in Virginia were men of letters: but, with the exception of their historians, Smith, Stith, Beverley, and Keith, they have left no writings of importance. Before the revolution, the only work of general interest published in the colonies, was the first volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, instituted in 1743, and held in Philadelphia. Men of science had promulgated their ordinary ideas in the newspapers, and their essays, of a higher character, through the medium of the Royal Society of London. Fourteen Americans,—four of the name of Winthrop, Paul Dudley, and president Leverett; Thomas Brattle, Cotton Mather, doctors Franklin, Boylestone, Mitchell, Morgan, Rittenhouse, and Garden; were members of that association.

The families of Winthrop and Mather were distinguished amongst the first inhabitants of New England, for their virtues and general abilities. Of the latter, (no fewer than ten of whom exercised, at the same time, the clerical profession,) Cotton Mather was the most conspicuous. He was one of the most voluminous writers of his day. His *Magnalia*, published in the beginning of the last century, is an extraordinary performance; alike interesting, as containing the church history of New England, and curious, as displaying a puerile inconsistency with his liberal education, in his belief of witchcraft, and its whole train of antichristian absurdities. Dr. Boylestone, in the year 1720, introduced into Boston the practice of inoculation for the small-pox; before which time, it was not used in any part of the American continent.

The name of Franklin, which has frequently appeared in our political narrative; a name inseparably associated with that of liberty; is no less illustrious in the annals of philosophy. Benjamin Franklin will be a lasting theme of admiration. Endued by nature with an originality of thought, uncommon accuracy of judgment, and deep penetration; his mental faculties unclouded by intemperance; his whole time devoted to industry; his resources improved by a rigid system of economy; he rose, from an humble station, to eminence in business, enjoyed the highest honours within his adopted province, and enriched the field of science with the sublimity of his researches. In developing the subtle nature of the electric fluid, he was unrivalled. Though his theory of "positive and negative electricity" has not been demonstrated to the entire satisfaction of philosophers, yet, no other has been imagined to supply its place; nor have



any experiments, in the smallest degree, shaken the probable correctness of his system. But a discovery of a grander character was reserved for Dr. Franklin. To him, the world is indebted, for showing the electrical quality of lightning; and, consequently, the means of preserving our dwellings and shipping from the destructive flash. No one should be unacquainted with the mental treasures contained in his various works. His biography and maxims, together with a sketch of his principal discoveries, should be in the hands of every youth; and the whole of his essays and transactions, studied with minute attention by the philosopher. Boston may justly be proud of being the birth-place of Dr. Franklin; and Pennsylvania will gratefully remember the services of her adopted citizen. Besides the foundation of the Philadelphia Library, in 1731, his country remains largely indebted to him for innumerable institutions, as well as for pecuniary bequests mentioned in his will.\*

The translation of Cicero's treatise on old age, made, in the year 1734, by Mr. Logan, of Pennsylvania, is highly deserving the perusal of those who are advanced in years, and of young persons in their progress to maturity. Much comfort will be received from it by the aged, and much good advice by inconsiderate youth. It illustrates the advantages of temperance, and of early mental improvement, by copious examples of men, who, long after the period usually allowed to human life, had served their country with distinction in the senate, enlightened mankind by their wisdom, or enjoyed the satisfaction of domestic retirement. The translator has furnished notes, containing a more extended biography of the characters mentioned in the original; thereby rendering the work more interesting to readers not extensively conversant with ancient history: and Franklin, by whom it was originally published, has conferred an important obligation on those who are deficient in sight, by printing it with a type of unusually large size. In the preface, Dr. Franklin says, "this is the first translation made of any of the ancient classics, in the western world;" an assertion, that is, we believe, erroneous: as, in 1623, more than a century before, it appears, that Mr. Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia Company, translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,—the most ancient literary production of America.

\* Dr. Franklin died in Philadelphia, in the year 1790, at the advanced age of eighty-four.

As a botanist, Dr. Clayton, of Virginia, holds an honourable station, and Rittenhouse of Pennsylvania is equally distinguished in astronomy. The former passed a long life in examining the plants of his native province. His *Flora Virginica*, published at Leyden in the year 1762, ranks him amongst the most industrious and useful enlargers of the botanical catalogue.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### NEW FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

*National Bank. Insurrection in Massachusetts, and in Pennsylvania. Vermont. Kentucky. War with the Indians.*

BY the treaty of peace, large territories, which had not been granted to individuals, were ceded to the United States. But these lands were included within the chartered limits of particular states, and were in actual possession of the aborigines. Ample cessions were, however, made in favour of the nation, by the former; and a large tract of country, situated to the north-west of the Ohio, was surrendered by the latter; on condition of their enjoying the friendship of the United States, and a regular supply of merchandise. Having joined the British in the revolutionary contest, they were considered, by the laws of war, as a conquered people; a principle which was mentioned to their leaders, and upon which the terms of this arrangement were, in a great measure, conducted.

There yet remained for discussion, a subject of much higher importance. The general government was not established on a solid foundation. The articles of union, formed under the pressure of common danger, were found inadequate to the efficient management of the same country, in the selfish periods of peace and security. It was necessary that there should be a radical reform. The original compact required the concurrence of seven states to every act, and of nine, to several higher objects, of legislation. It frequently happened, that some of the states were not represented in the general congress; or, perhaps, by only one member, or by an even number, equally divided in opinion; cases, in which, their votes were of no effect.

This bond of union was defective, not only in its powers, but in the means of executing them. Its acts required the interposition of the states composing it, to give them effect within their respective jurisdictions. The laws of congress, without the aid of state laws to enforce them, were nugatory; and thus, the government was paralyzed. No efficient fund being provided to pay the interest of the national debt, the public securities of the United States fell to one-tenth of their nominal value. The soldier, who had received a certificate for the payment of his hard-earned dues, was often, from necessity, obliged to transfer his right for an insignificant consideration. The monied man, who had trusted his country in the hour of its distress, was deprived, not only of his interest, on which he depended for support, but of a great part of his capital. A necessity was created, or an apology furnished, for the non-payment of private contracts; mutual confidence received a deadly wound; and the morals of the people were seriously impaired; evils, which general Washington, in his circular letter, before his resignation, most forcibly predicted. These sufferings were increased by restrictions on American commerce. The intercourse with the British West India islands, from which, the colonies had derived large quantities of gold and silver, was forbidden to them by the English government, in their new character of independent states: Spain denied their right of navigating the Mississippi: and they could no longer safely enter the Mediterranean; a privilege which they had always enjoyed, when a part of the British empire. Unable to defend themselves against the Algerines, whose forbearance was purchased by England, they were constrained either to relinquish a beneficial trade, or insure their adventures, to that quarter, at a ruinous premium. Thus, when the people supposed their troubles at an end, they found that they were only varied; that they had obtained liberty, without the concomitant blessings of freedom; the name, without the attributes of a nation.

Feeling the pressure of their sufferings, and unprovided with a remedy, because unacquainted with their source, the inhabitants became uneasy; and many were ready to adopt any desperate measures that turbulent leaders recommended. Several thousand disorderly citizens of Massachusetts, headed by Daniel Shay, who had been a subaltern officer in the revolutionary war, complaining of  
1786 heavy taxes, threatened to march to Boston and



compel the general assembly to reduce them; attacked the arsenal at Springfield, and thus opposed the laws which their own authority had framed. However, by the moderation of the legislature, aided by the bravery and good conduct of generals Lincoln and Shepherd, who were placed at the head of a firm and well-affected militia, the insurgents were speedily dispersed, with inconsiderable loss of lives.

The friends of social order and national respectability, were not idle spectators of this accumulating danger. In accordance with a motion of James Madison, a proposal was made by Virginia, to all the other states, to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government equal to the exigences of the Union. Delegates, from every state except Rhode Island, met in Philadelphia, on the 25th of May; chose general Washington  
1787 president; and, after deliberating with closed doors until the 17th of September, agreed on a new plan of national government. This, being transmitted to the state legislatures, was by them referred to conventions, specially appointed in each, by the people; and, at length, but not without considerable opposition, was adopted.

When the people were examining the merits of this plan, its principle and arrangement were ably developed and defended in a series of essays, signed Publius. These, which now appear in a volume entitled the *Federalist*, were written by three authors, (colonel) Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Madison; but the two last furnished only a few papers; nearly the whole being from the pen of Hamilton. This work may be ranked in the highest class of writings on the economy of government. The view which it affords of the several confederations, amongst the states of Greece and Germany, Switzerland and Holland, and of the constitution of Great Britain; thereby displaying, in a luminous train of argument, the superiority of the American constitution; renders it invaluable to the politician; especially, of the United States; and places the *Federalist* in honourable competition with the labours of De Lolme, Montesquieu, and Blackstone.

By the new constitution, all legislative powers are vested in a congress of the United States, consisting of a president, a senate, and a house of representatives.

The executive power is vested in the president; who must be a natural born citizen, or have been a naturalized citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption

of this constitution; of the age of thirty-five years, fourteen of which he must have resided within the country. He holds his office during the term of four years; and, together with a vice-president, chosen for the same period, is appointed by electors, chosen according to regulations of the several states. The president is commander in chief of the land and sea forces of the United States, and of the militia of the individual states when called into the general service.

The senate is composed of two persons from each state; chosen, by its own legislature, for six years; divided, after its assembling, as equally as possible, into three classes; of which, the seats of the first class are vacated at the end of the second year; those of the second, at the expiration of the fourth; and those of the third class, at the termination of the sixth year. A senator must have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States.

The house of representatives is composed of members chosen by ballot, without any reference to their property or their religion, every second year, in the several states; by electors having the same qualifications necessary to entitle them to vote for delegates to the most numerous branch of their respective state legislatures. No person can be a representative, who has not attained the age of twenty-five years; been seven years a citizen of the United States; and who is not, when elected, an inhabitant of that state in which he shall have been chosen. The number of representatives must not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the population.

Congress assembles at least once in every year; which meeting is fixed to be on the first Monday in December. Members of both houses receive a compensation for their services, paid out of the treasury of the United States; and are privileged from arrest, during their attendance, or their journey, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace.

No senator or representative can be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during the term of his election; and no person holding any official situation in the general government can be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

Every bill, when it has passed the house of representa-

lives and the senate, must, before it becomes a law, be carried to the president of the United States. If he approve, he shall sign it: but, if he disapprove, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated; where it shall be re-considered. If two-thirds of the members shall then agree to pass the bill, it is sent, together with the objections, to the other house; by whom, likewise, it is to be re-considered; and, if approved, by a similar majority, it becomes a law: or, if any bill shall not have been returned by the president within ten days after its presentation, it becomes a law, as if it had received his signature.

Congress has power to lay and collect taxes; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare, of the United States; to borrow money; to regulate foreign commerce; to establish a uniform system of naturalization; to coin money, and fix the standard of weights and measures; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to declare war, grant letters of marque, raise and support armies, and provide and maintain a navy.

No title of nobility can be granted, either by the united or the individual states; nor can any person, holding a public office, accept of any emolument, employment, or title, from a foreign state, without the consent of congress.

The United States guarantee to every member of this great political family a republican form of government; and are bound to protect it against invasion, and domestic violence. Provision is made for the occasional amending of the constitution; to uphold which, all officiating persons are pledged, by oath or affirmation: but no religious test is ever to be required as a qualification for any office under the United States.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in one supreme court, and in such district and circuit courts as congress shall think proper to erect.

Thus, were established, two separate governments over the Union; one, for local purposes, over each state, by the people, as citizens of each state; the other, for national purposes, over all the states, by the people, as citizens of the United States.

1789 Members of both branches of the legislature assembled, in the beginning of April, at New York; where, they were, soon afterwards, joined by the former commander in chief: who, now in his fifty-seventh year, by the unanimous voice of the people, had again been call-



ed from his agricultural pursuits, and, with much reluctance, consented to act as president of the United States. On his way to the seat of government, one emotion of delightful recollections pervaded the whole community. When he had crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted by the inhabitants with three cheers; the spontaneous greetings of overflowing hearts; more grateful to a patriot's ear, than the hired flourishes of a thousand trumpets. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, he beheld, on the bridge which crosses the Assanpinck creek, a triumphal arch, erected under the superintendence of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with flowers and laurels; and displayed, in large characters, in commemoration of the surprise of Trenton, "December 26th, 1776: The hero who defended the Mothers, will also protect the Daughters." On the north side, were little girls, dressed in white, with garlands on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms: in the second row, stood the young ladies, and behind them the matrons, of the neighbourhood. When Washington was passing the arch, the children began to sing the following ode:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,  
welcome to this grateful shore:  
now, no mercenary foe  
aims again the fatal blow,  
aims at thee the fatal blow.

"Virgins fair and matrons grave,  
(these, thy conquering arm did save,)  
build, for thee, triumphal bowers.—  
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,  
strew your hero's way with flowers."\*

The 30th of April was fixed for his taking the oath of office: which was administered by Mr. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New York, in the presence of an immense concourse of citizens. When the president retired to the senate chamber, he addressed both houses in an impressive speech; reminding them, that no truth was more thoroughly established, than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness;—between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest

\* The author of this work, by using a capital letter only at the beginning of each period, has taken the liberty of varying from the established mode of writing English poetic verse.

and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of Heaven could never be expected on a nation who disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself had ordained. He concluded by saying, that, in conformity with the principle he had adopted when commander in chief, he renounced all pecuniary compensation for his presidential duties, farther than was equivalent to his additional expenditure in office: which should not, at any time, be greater than was required for the public good.

The annual salary of the president was fixed at twenty-five thousand dollars; of the vice-president, secretary of state, and secretary of the treasury, each five thousand: the secretary of war was to receive four thousand five hundred dollars; and the attorney-general, three thousand. John Adams was elected vice-president: the remaining great political departments were, by Washington's appointment, filled, respectively, by Thomas Jefferson, colonel Hamilton, general Knox, and Edmund Randolph. John Jay received the office of chief justice: the associate judges were John Rutledge, James Wilson, John Cushing, Robert Harrison, and John Blair.

The people of the United States now possessed the means of future happiness in a more ample measure than were ever enjoyed by any other;—a constitution framed by their wisest and most virtuous men, and approved by themselves; embracing all that was valuable, and excluding every thing that was found injurious, in the British form of government; with deficiencies supplied, and superfluities retrenched; in which, merit was rewarded by election, and hereditary distinctions were unknown: a chief, sagacious to discern, able and determined to protect, the interest of society; to repress the turbulent, and conciliate the discontented: a soil fertile to generate, and a climate suitable to mature, the various productions of the globe; stored with every mineral essential to the real wants of society, and with many required for its decoration: streams, which in one place perform the office of human labour, and in another facilitate the exchanges of foreign and domestic commerce.

To replenish the empty treasury, was the first object of legislative attention. For this purpose, duties were levied on imported merchandise, and reasonable taxes imposed on the tonnage of vessels. The next, was the support of public credit. In the month of January,

colonel Hamilton brought forward a system, luminous in its detail, and ingenious in its application; perhaps the best that could be devised to unite the conflicting interests. His mode of funding the public debt, gave rise to much animated discussion; in which, James Madison proposed an amendment, more difficult in practice, and not less objectionable in its principle. Mr. Hamilton advocated a reduction of the established interest; Mr. Madison, a discrimination between the original lender of money and the present holder of certificates. The principle of the secretary, however, and nearly his entire plan, were adopted; funding one part of the debts at three per cent.; deferring the accruing of any interest on another portion, for ten years; and limiting the highest rate of interest to six per cent. In this arrangement, besides fifty-four millions of the general debt, were included twenty-one millions and a half of the debts of individual states; confined to certificates issued above their just proportion, for general defence, during the revolutionary war. The assumption of the state debts required additional revenue; and suggested the laying of duties on domestic distilled spirits; a measure, which, while it increased the credit of the United States, had a serious effect on the tranquillity of particular sections.

Notwithstanding the arguments that might justly be offered against the manner in which the public debts were funded; the system was, on the whole, eminently beneficial to the country. Public paper, which had previously sunk in the proportion of ten to one, rapidly advanced to par; and, being now convenient for circulation, invigorated agriculture and commerce, to a degree not less than would have resulted from the introduction of an equal quantity of metallic coin.

To complete the financial department, colonel Hamilton recommended the formation of a national bank. This measure was strenuously opposed. Some objected to the utility of any banking establishment; others, to the plan of the one proposed: but more, to its institution, on the ground of the inadequate constitutional powers of congress; on which, the legislature and the cabinet were divided. A law for the purpose having at length passed both houses, the president, who was extremely guarded against infringing the constitution, required from the heads of departments their opinions on the subject; and then, examining it in all its relations, deliberately gave it the sanction of his name. The bank was chartered for twenty years; its capi-



tal was ten millions, in shares of four hundred dollars each. The instalment certificates were in so great demand, that they rose in a short time to two hundred dollars advance on the first payment of twenty-five. Branches, termed offices of discount and deposit, were established in the principal sea-ports of the United States; the parent bank being placed in Philadelphia, at that time the seat of government.

But the public blessings which we have been contemplating, were not without alloy. The immense wealth acquired by individuals, from the increase in the value of property, and especially of the public stocks, made them objects of envy. Whilst the partizans of Hamilton, and those enriched by his plans, adored him as the financial saviour of the United States, others reviled him as the friend of monarchy, who wished to invest the government with artificial strength, by raising up a monied aristocracy, obedient to its will; and, at the very time when the country was enjoying unexampled prosperity from the wise administration of an efficient government, its authors were loaded with execrations, by a large portion of their fellow-citizens.

A criminal resistance was thus promoted to the payment of the excise duty on domestic spirits. This duty was particularly obnoxious to those inhabitants of Pennsylvania

1791 who dwelt on the western side of the Alleghany mountains. A meeting of delegates from the malcontents was held at Pittsburgh; where, all who should obey or execute the excise law, were proscribed as enemies to their country. Government was careful to remove all real grievances. In the following summer, the law was revised, and every reasonable objection cancelled or amended. But the amendment was unavailing. The very principle of excise was the object of hostility. A second meeting was convened; in which, resolutions were adopted for

1794 opposing the execution of the law: the marshal, when in the performance of his duty, was shot at by a party of armed men; and, on the following day, the insurgents, to the number of five hundred, attacked the house of the inspector, and forced him, together with a small military guard, to surrender.

Sensations the most distressing pervaded the breast of general Washington. Humanity restrained the avenging sword of justice, in one hand; whilst the solemn obligations of duty directed his attention to the balance. in the

other. He determined to execute the laws; and, to employ an army sufficient, from its numbers, to make resistance desperate. The utmost force the insurgents could bring into the field, was supposed to be seven thousand. A requisition was accordingly made, to the governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for an army of fifteen thousand. The militia turned out with uncommon alacrity. The troops of New Jersey and Pennsylvania rendezvoused at Bedford; those of Maryland and Virginia, at Cumberland, on the Potomac. The president visited each division, and left the whole under the command of general (late colonel) Lee, then governor of Virginia. He marched into the disturbed country; but found no armed bodies of the insurgents: the greatness of the force produced the desired effect, and restored tranquillity, without bloodshed.

Whilst the extremity of Pennsylvania was thus suffering from the insurrectionary spirit, its capital was afflicted with a melancholy visitation of Providence. In the year 1793, Philadelphia was ravaged by the awful effects of a yellow fever. It commenced early in August, and continued for about three months; during which time, there died four thousand, out of a population of sixty thousand, by that disorder alone. Its greatest height was about the middle of October; when, one hundred and twenty persons were carried off in a single day. Many fled to the country: the usual vocations of society were abandoned. The streets became a desert. Distress appeared in every form. In the midst, however, of this calamity, much benevolence was shown. A committee took charge of the sick poor, and provided them with a house, medicine, and attendance: and the orphans were nursed, fed, and furnished with every comfort. About the middle of November, the disorder ceased; the citizens returned; and business re-assumed its course. Since that period, a similar species of fever has, at intervals, appeared in Philadelphia, and other commercial cities in the United States; particularly, in New York, Baltimore, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans: but, from the precautionary measures of the several boards of health, malignant fevers, for nearly the last twenty years, are almost unknown in any of the towns situated to the north of Charleston.

Amongst the distinguished individuals during that calamitous season, the most conspicuous was Benjamin Rush;

whether we consider his humanity, his fearless conduct amidst the appalling scenes of contagion, or the skill with which he combated the destructive antagonist. This accomplished physician, already known as an active member of that congress which voted the independence of his country, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was born about twelve miles from Philadelphia; the third in descent from English ancestors, who accompanied William Penn. His classical education was completed at Princeton; his medical, in the celebrated school of Edinburgh. Ambitious, at an early age, to excel in his profession, he registered, in a common-place book, every occurrence worthy of remembrance. Great was the benefit derived from his juvenile record. To that journal, happily commenced in his eighteenth year, he had recourse, at the age of fifty, for the only account then extant of a malignant fever which had prevailed in Philadelphia in the year 1762; having thereby, preserved valuable information as to its general symptoms, and the most effective mode of resisting its effects. In cases of an alarming or desperate nature, his decisions were firm, and his practice intrepid. He not unfrequently lost credit, for a time, in subduing sickness, and saving life, by remedies that were not approved by his connexions or his friends. This trait in his character, Dr. Rush now strikingly displayed. His house, although itself the abode of sickness, was the resort of thousands, whom he was unable to visit at their dwellings. Their confidence was not misplaced. He devised a mode of treatment, which tended greatly to overcome the malignant power of the disease: and, devoting himself entirely to the service of the afflicted, he remained at his post until the mortality ceased; although he himself had been a subject of its attack, and many of the faculty had sought an asylum in the country. His professional works are contained in three volumes; entitled, *Medical Inquiries and Observations*; and a fourth volume, composed of introductory lectures.\*

Two new states had now been admitted as members of the great federal government,—Vermont and Kentucky. Vermont was formed into an independent community against much opposition, and received into the Union in 1791. Owing to British acts of parliament, inconsistent with each other, the soil was claimed by several adjacent states; particularly, by New York. Civil war between the

\* Dr. Rush died, after a short illness, in the year 1813.



parties was repeatedly approached; but hostilities were restrained by the paternal advice of Washington, and finally prevented by the eloquence of Alexander Hamilton; who induced New York to acquiesce in the demand of Vermont for independence.—Kentucky owes its political existence to the liberal spirit of Virginia. It was a part of this province, until she authorized and encouraged the former in the establishment of a separate government, to be organized by the free voice of its own inhabitants. This was accordingly done, in the year 1785; and, in 1792, it was admitted into the Union, on equal terms with its indulgent parent. Kentucky, (a name which signifies, in the Indian language, the Land of Blood,) was known, at an early period, by the French; but was long carefully hidden from the knowledge of the British colonies. In 1714, Mr. Spotswood, governor of Virginia, made a journey to the Alleghany mountains; ascertained the practicability of crossing them; and, from their lofty summits, beheld the beautiful western plains comprehended within his jurisdiction. Hunters and Indian traders, before and afterwards, had occasionally traversed them; but James M'Bride was the first white person that visited the country with a view of settling. In 1754, he carved his name on a tree, as an evidence of his taking possession. The French war, however, which immediately followed, prevented the execution of his design. The earliest permanent settlement was made by colonel Daniel Boon; who, with a few companions, explored it in 1769. But this little colony, meeting with nothing but hardships, grew exceedingly disheartened. They were plundered, dispersed, or killed, by the wandering Indians; except Boon himself, who continued a solitary inhabitant of the wilderness, until the year 1771. The colonel was not easily discouraged. He returned to this fertile region, accompanied by forty families of Powell's Valley; who, in 1773, were the whole population of Kentucky. The oldest settlement is Boonsborough. Lexington was commenced in 1782. This country was never inhabited by the Indians: it was only known to them by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground; being claimed by various tribes, whose titles, if they had any, were so obscure, as to render it doubtful to which nation it belonged; and hence, it became a theatre of war, and the residence only of wild beasts. Its progress in population and general improvement, almost exceeds belief. The annals of colonization do not, as far as our information extends, afford any previous instance of similar advancement.

The extension of settlements beyond the Ohio, was much retarded by the hostile disposition of the Indians. Compelled, through necessity, to make a seeming relinquishment of those lands, on which they had drawn their earliest breath, and ranged, undisturbed, in pursuit of their favourite game, the untutored children of the forest, like the sophisticated politicians of the eastern world, adhered to their agreements no longer than they were constrained by interest or fear. The Indians were now a formidable people. They had been instructed by the French in the use of fire-arms, iron tomahawks, and swords; and had acquired considerable knowledge of their discipline. In natural courage, they were never deficient: though, in bodily strength, they were inferior to the Virginians, and other descendants of Europeans; especially, to those who inhabited the hilly country of the west.

In the south, the Creek Indians, whose fighting men amounted to six hundred, under M'Gillivray, the son of a white man, had been at war with Georgia: peace, however, was restored there, in 1790, in consequence of a treaty signed by that chieftain, at New York. Pacific overtures, made to the north-western Indians, were rejected. In the following year, fourteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were regulars, and the remainder militia from Kentucky and Pennsylvania; the whole under the command of general Harmar; were sent to destroy their settlements on the Scioto and the Wabash; but the militia being panic-struck, the expedition was defeated, with the loss of three hundred and sixty men killed. The next attempt against these people, was still more disastrous. General St. Clair, at that time governor of the western territory, being placed at the head of two thousand militia and regulars, proceeded to destroy the Indian villages on the Miami, and expel the inhabitants from that country: but, owing to the shameful conduct of the militia, he was completely routed, by an inferior number of the enemy; who killed, in the battle and during the retreat, thirty-eight officers and nearly six hundred privates. Amongst the dead, was the gallant general Butler: amongst the wounded, were colonels Gibson and Darke, major Butler and adjutant Sargent; officers of distinguished merit. Seldom, had the Americans experienced so severe a loss; and never from an enemy so contemptible in number. St. Clair, having resigned, was succeeded by general Wayne; who, in September, 1793, reached the ground where that officer had been defeated, erected a fort,

to which he gave the name of Recovery, and made every preparation for advancing against the Indian settlements early in the following year. On the 20th of August, after ineffectual endeavours to negotiate a peace, a general engagement ensued near the Miami. The Indians amounted to about two thousand; the American army, to three thousand: of whom, two-thirds were regulars, and the remainder mounted militia, from Kentucky, commanded by general Scott.

The action was decisive: the Indians were completely routed. General Wayne drove them out of the country, and erected forts in the midst of their late settlements, to prevent their return.

In the year after, Wayne concluded, at Greenville, treaties with the hostile Indians north-west of the Ohio; by which, peace was established, on terms mutually satisfactory and beneficial. A humane system now commenced for ameliorating their condition. They were, henceforth, protected by the United States from the impositions and incursions of lawless white people; taught the use of the loom; and encouraged in the pursuits of agriculture: measures reflecting high praise on colonel Hawkins, who was amongst the first to execute the benevolent intentions, originally projected by the humane spirit of general Washington.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### FRENCH REVOLUTION.

*Short War with France. Jay's treaty with Great Britain.  
Death of General Washington.*

WHILST the administration were employed in quelling the refractory, and restraining the inroads of a subtle enemy, within the bosom of the country, they were unexpectedly involved in a foreign war, by the great political convulsions of Europe. Emboldened by the success of the American revolution, the people of France had proceeded in their endeavours to obtain freedom, until they had deprived their unhappy monarch of his sceptre, and finally of his life; and were now contending, single-handed, against the surrounding states. In this situation, the French Directory turned



their eyes towards America, and demanded, in the friendship and assistance of the emancipated colonies, a return for the aid rendered them by Louis; an aid given by a sovereign whom they had deposed; whose interest was unconnected with his people's: and that the United States would violate the bond of peace, the attainment of which was the only merit claimed by their former allies. The minister appointed by their fallen monarch having been recalled from the United States, M. Genet was sent over in his place. This envoy treated the American republic more like a tributary vassal, than a country holding a high rank amongst independent nations. In a few days after his landing, which was at Charleston, he undertook to authorize the arming of vessels in that port, and the enlisting of men; giving commissions, in the name of the French government, to cruise at sea, and commit hostilities on land, against nations with which the United States were at peace. The British minister remonstrated. The president, before the arrival of Genet, had determined on the line he should pursue; which was, a strict neutrality; and issued the proper orders for defeating the unwarrantable interference of the French ambassador. A large body of the people, however, were at this time, favourable to the French encroachments;—some, enlightened men, who were willing to sacrifice every thing, to aid a country struggling for liberty against a world in arms; many, through a desire of profit; and more, through ignorance,—anxious to repay an obligation, yet unable to discover to whom they were obliged. Encouraged by these generous feelings, Genet designed a measure unexampled in the page of history. He threatened an appeal to the people. They, only, he declared, and not the delegated authorities, possessed the sovereignty, in a democratic state. This appeal offended and alarmed all who felt for the honour and independence of their country. The president requested that he should be recalled; and he was accordingly superseded. His successors were less violent in their deportment, but nearly similar in their designs. Every day gave indications of an open rupture. Not contented with seizing enemies' property when found on board vessels of the United States, the French Directory authorized the indiscriminate capture of all vessels sailing under their flag; demanded a large sum of money, as the price of a negotiation; and ordered general Pinckney and Mr. Marshall, two envoys from the American government, to quit the territories of France.

1797 In the meantime, general Washington, having completed a double period of his magisterial duties, was succeeded by John Adams, the late vice-president; the office of the latter being filled by Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state.

When the lawless proceedings of the French government, were known in the United States, they excited the keenest and most extensive indignation. The ardour of the revolutionary period, was rekindled; the rancour of party was suspended. "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute," resounded throughout the Union. Authority was given for capturing French armed vessels. Two severe and well fought actions took place in the West India seas; the first, between the American frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by commodore Truxton, 1799 and the French frigate, *L'Insurgente*, of forty; the second, between the *Constellation*, and *La Vengeance* of fifty guns. *L'Insurgente* was captured; but *La Vengeance*, after having struck, escaped in the night, by reason of the disabled state of her antagonist.

Addresses poured in upon the president, from every section of the Union; promising him the most efficient support. A military resistance being determined on, all eyes were again turned towards their beloved Washington; as the man, who, more than any other, could draw into the public service the best military talents, and the whole natural strength, of the country. He obeyed the call, and accepted the charge of organizing the army, and directing its operations. What could not be effected by negotiation, was accomplished by the conduct of an heroic soldier. When supplicating, America was insulted; when armed, she was respected. France soon intimated a desire for peace. Envoys were, accordingly, sent to Paris; where, they found the Directory overthrown, and the government in the hands of Buonaparte, with the title of first consul. The ambassadors were now received with the respect due to their character and country; all disputes were speedily adjusted; and, shortly afterwards, a new treaty between the two nations was concluded.

To the prudent neutrality which the American government maintained, whilst, for a long series of years, the several kingdoms of Europe were involved, by their indiscretion, in a destructive war, may be attributed the greater part of the wealth gained by the merchants of the United States; the increase and experience of their seamen; the

improved skill of their mechanics, and the unrivalled prosperity of their farmers.

But there was still another power, the great antagonist of France, with which, disputes, of not less importance, were to be adjusted. This was Great Britain. Although, since the definitive treaty of Paris, there had occurred no open hostilities between England and the United States, yet they were far from being on terms of perfect amity and reconciliation. Soon after the termination of the revolutionary contest, the two countries charged each other with having violated that treaty; a charge, which, though reciprocally denied, was reciprocally proved. The British had stipulated that they would not carry off the negroes, or destroy other property, of the Americans. But the greatest vigilance, and the purest intentions, could not have secured the entire fulfilment of this agreement. Good faith to the blacks produced an infraction of contract with the whites; for, many of the former, being in possession of freedom, in consequence of having joined the royal standard, could not, on any principle of English law, be delivered as slaves to their American masters. One failure produced another. The Americans had agreed to pay the British merchants all debts contracted before the war, without any impediment, in sterling money. This stipulation was very generally infringed. Some were prevented from fulfilling their engagements by the loss of their negroes, and the consequent non-cultivation of their lands; others, by the unjust measures of the individual states, compelling the acceptance of depreciated paper, in place of coin. The evil did not terminate with these. The non-payment, on the part of the Americans, of their mercantile debts, was assigned by Great Britain as a reason for retaining the military posts on the south side of the lakes, which form the northern boundary of the United States. In this unsettled posture of affairs, Great Britain became opposed to France in the great continental war, which has already been a subject of our notice. As France was then generally beloved in the United States, and England proportionably hated, the hostile feeling that before existed, was thenceforth increased; not only from the previous excitement, but from new causes, arising from the war. The Americans had become the shipping carriers of France; and, adhering to their favourite principle, that "free ships make free goods," were indignant at the frequent searches, as well as captures of their vessels, and of French property on board. But of this con-



duct, the American merchants could, in justice, only partially complain. By the treaty which ended the revolutionary war, the search of their vessels, and the seizure of enemies' property on board, were formally permitted: notwithstanding, that, by a previous agreement between the United States and France, a contrary principle had been sanctioned, as regarded the relations of the latter.

As an ultimate resource for the preservation of peace, Mr. Jay, chief-justice of the United States, was deputed (in 1794, by general Washington) envoy extraordinary to London. A treaty was the result of this mission, in the ensuing year. But, though more was now yielded than at any former period of the negotiation, the concessions, on the part of England, were much less, and, on the part of the United States, much greater, than were pleasing to the majority of the American people. The posts were given up, and compensation was made for several of the illegal captures. Their favourite maxim, however, that "free ships make free goods," was abandoned, and the search of their merchant vessels admitted. The United States agreed to pay six hundred thousand pounds sterling to the British government, in trust for the English creditors of the Americans, for all remaining claims of individuals of the one nation against individuals of the other: thus, settling all grounds of controversy emanating from the revolution.

The happiness arising from the accommodation with the French, was more general; but it was mingled with a recent grief, that checked the full expression of public feeling. Washington, than whom, though none was ever more alert in war, none more sincerely cherished the benign sentiments of peace, was not allowed to partake in the general joy. Before accounts arrived of this amicable adjustment, he ceased to be numbered with the living.

He had received a slight sprinkling of rain, while attending some improvements at Mount Vernon. In the following night, he was seized with an inflammation in his throat; shortly afterwards followed by fever and difficulty of breathing. He was immediately bled; but would not allow his family physician to be called before day. Dr. Craik arrived about eleven, and, by his recommendation, was soon joined in consultation by two other physicians. But their united powers were unavailing. On the 14th of December, in about twenty-four hours from the time of his usual health, he expired, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

The equanimity which attended him through life, did

not forsake him on his death-bed. He submitted, to the inevitable stroke, with the becoming firmness of a man, the calmness of a philosopher, the resignation and confidence of a Christian. When convinced that his dissolution was fast approaching, he requested leave to die without farther interruption: then, undressed himself, went tranquilly to bed, and, having placed himself in a suitable attitude, soon afterwards closed his eyes with his own hands, and yielded up his spirit without a struggle.

As no pencil has been able correctly to delineate the impressive dignity of his countenance; nor any chisel, the majestic figure of his person; so, no pen can fully concentrate the transcendent qualities of his mind, or the amiable dispositions of his heart. The history of his country is his best eulogium; his most faithful monument, the love and admiration of the world.

The same Providence which guided the affairs of the revolution, and, in the agency of Washington, raised man almost above his accustomed rank in the creation, withdrew his favourite production, when human talent, or human virtue, was no longer sufficient to preserve the tranquillity, or retain the veneration, of his country. The pages of futurity, if then unfolded, would have reversed the deep sensations of regret; by changing into thankfulness, the unequalled feelings caused by a departure, at an age that promised many years of happiness to himself, and benefit to his country.

The mind of the great Washington was not more solicitous for the welfare of the nation, than for the comfort of the poor. His charities, whilst given with a discerning, were diffused with an unsparing, hand. On each of his plantations, a corn-house was every year filled, solely for their use; on one of his best fishing-shores, he kept, in complete order for them, a boat and net; and men ready to help those who were themselves too weak to haul the seine: and, so feelingly attentive was he to any poor persons who wished to speak to him, that he had a room set apart for them; and, though in company with the most distinguished characters, he instantly begged a few moments' absence, and attended the distressed.

General Washington had never any offspring. In his twenty-seventh year, he had married Mrs. Custis; a lady, who, to a handsome person and large fortune, added every accomplishment that contributes to the felicity of the conjugal state. To Mrs. Washington, his domestic partner

for forty years, he bequeathed, during her life, Mount Vernon, and a considerable share of his extensive lands; which, on her decease, were to become the property of his nephew, Bushrod Washington. To his brother Charles, he left only a memorial of his affection; in consideration of the ample provision made by him for his children. Mrs Washington's grand-children were remembered as his own: every branch of his numerous relations, and many charitable institutions, experienced the liberality of his heart. He directed that his negroes should be emancipated, after Mrs. Washington's decease; lamenting that impediments insurmountable had prevented his liberating them before: he provided for the support and education of the young on his plantations, and for the maintenance of the old and infirm.

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## CHAPTER X.

### FOUNDING OF WASHINGTON.

*Removal of the seat of government to the new capital, Washington. War with Tripoli. Tennessee. Ohio. Purchase of Louisiana. Trial of Aaron Burr.*

IT had been strongly advised by Washington, that the seat of government should be removed to a place more convenient for the general interest of the United States, than either New York or Philadelphia. Accordingly, at the second session after the formation of the new federal government, his recommendation was adopted. A territory, ten miles on every side, now called the District of Columbia, having been ceded, for this purpose, by Virginia and Maryland, a city, bearing the name of the illustrious protector of his country, was founded on the Potomac, in that portion given by the latter state. The ancient laws of the ceded territory were secured to the respective divisions; and the sovereign authority of the District was vested in the general congress. In 1800, the public offices were removed from Philadelphia (the seat of the federal government for the preceding ten years) to the infant capital; in which, magnificent buildings had been erected for their accommodation; and congress met there in December.



1801 At the usual period before the completion of the presidential term of duty, John Adams was again a candidate, but was successfully opposed by Thomas Jefferson; the vice-president elected being Aaron Burr.

Harmony now subsisted between the United States and the great European powers. But a new scene of vexation, and eventually of war, arose, from the piracies of the Barbary states. The disputes which had, for some time, existed, with the tributary princes of the Turkish empire, those of Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, were settled by treaty, without the occurrence of any remarkable event. But there remained another of these barbarian freebooters, with whom a similar adjustment was impracticable, until chastised, in some degree, to submission.

The bashaw of Tripoli, having dismissed the American consul, and threatened speedy depredations on the American commerce, unless certain demands of tribute were conceded; on the refusal of the United States to comply with these degrading terms, proceeded to the execution of his threats. Several vessels were accordingly captured. But these insults were not suffered to remain long unavenged. The navy of the United States, though small in number, was not deficient in activity and courage. Captain Sterret, in the schooner *Enterprise*, fell in with a Tripolitan cruiser, off Malta. A desperate engagement ensued. It was, in the first instance, continued several hours, when the Tripolitan hauled down her colours. The crew of the *Enterprise*, quitting their guns, gave three cheers; whereupon, the faithless pirate fired a broadside into the American, hoisted her flag, and renewed the action with additional ferocity. But she was soon, again, overcome, and ordered under the quarters of the *Enterprise*. Here, she a second time re-commenced the contest, by pouring a broadside into her antagonist; at the same time, hoisting the bloody flag, and making strenuous attempts to board. The indignation of a generous enemy was now raised to the utmost pitch.—“Fight on, and sink the perfidious villains to the bottom,” exclaimed the American commander.—“Sink her to the bottom,” vociferated his enraged companions.—A position was taken which enabled them to rake her fore-and-aft. Her mizen mast was shot away; her sides, opened by well-directed shots, admitted overwhelming torrents from the sea; her commander, throwing his colours overboard, implored for mercy. The supplication was not made in vain.

The wretches were allowed the unmerited rights of civilized warfare. His instructions not permitting him to capture the vanquished corsair, captain Sterret ordered her crew to throw her guns into the sea; and, having paid every attention to the wounded Tripolitans that humanity could dictate, he ordered their vessel to be dismantled. Her remaining masts were cut down: a spar was erected, to which was hung, as a flag, a tattered sail; and, in this condition, she was sent into Tripoli, as an awful specimen of what might be expected from a nation determined to pay tribute only in powder and ball. The reception of her treacherous commander was in conformity with the sentiments of his barbarian chief: he was punished, not for his perfidy, but for his defeat. Mounted on a jack-ass, he was paraded through the town, as an object of public scorn, and afterwards, chastised, with five hundred bastinadoes.

In the course of the year, the United States sent three frigates and a sloop of war into the Mediterranean, under commodore Dale. On his arrival, he blockaded the port of Tripoli; by which means, the piratical vessels being confined within their harbours, the American commerce was effectually secured from molestation. In the following year, commodore Murray, when cruising off Tripoli in the frigate *Constellation*, was attacked, during a calm, by a formidable number of gun-boats; but, dashing in amongst them, he obliged them to retire in confusion and dismay.

1803 The next naval occurrence excites considerable regret; not, however, as proceeding from misconduct, but from unavoidable misfortune. Determined on vigorous measures against Tripoli, the government of the United States despatched to the Mediterranean, a squadron of seven sail,—the *Philadelphia* and *Constitution*, each of forty-four, with the *Argus* and *Syren*, the *Nautilus*, *Enterprise*, and *Vixen*, of from fourteen to eighteen guns each; under the command of commodore Preble. The *Philadelphia*, commanded by captain Bainbridge, when returning from a fruitless chase, ran upon a rock, not laid down in any known chart; distant about five miles from the town of Tripoli. To lighten the vessel, all her cannon were thrown overboard, except a few, on the upper deck, reserved as a defence against the gun-boats, which were fast advancing to attack her. The foremast was cut away, every art was tried to get her off; but all proved unavailing. Her situation was awfully distressing. Not a ray of hope appeared, to lessen, even by fallacious expectation, the terror of ap-

proaching bondage; a bondage more dreaded by her indignant crew, than immediate death. Assailed on all sides, deprived of every means of effectual resistance, the Philadelphia was compelled to strike her colours, was taken possession of by the Tripolitans, and her officers and crew, amounting to three hundred, were made prisoners.

This victory, which accident, not valour, had given to the barbarians, was, in the following summer, in a great measure, regained. Whatever anticipations of future benefit the Tripolitan chief was enabled to enjoy, in the contemplation of individual ransom, he was not long allowed the pleasure of beholding the recent accession to his navy. A young officer in the American squadron, conceived the design of re-taking, or, at least, of destroying, the captured frigate; which had been towed off by the enemy, and was then lying at anchor within the harbour. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, the projector of the intended enterprise, having submitted his plan to the commodore, and received his approbation, performed the daring service, with that gallantry and judgment, which have, subsequently, in more important actions, gained him the respect and admiration of his country. Furnished with a small schooner, the Intrepid, and seventy men, he sailed from Syracuse, and, under a neutral flag, appeared off Tripoli on the  
1804 16th of February, accompanied by the brig Syren; which vessel was directed to remain in a convenient station, for the purpose, if required, of covering a retreat. When within two hundred yards of his object, Decatur was hailed, and ordered to anchor, on the peril of being sunk. His pilot replied, that her anchors were lost, and carried the schooner to within fifty yards of the frigate; where she was becalmed. Decatur warped up his vessel, laid her alongside, sprang on board, followed by his determined crew; rushed, sword in hand, upon the Tripolitans, soon overcame them, and, amidst a tremendous assault, from two corsairs and the batteries on shore, set fire to the Philadelphia, and, with his brave companions, retired.

For the intrepidity and skill displayed in this bold enterprise, Decatur was advanced to the rank of post-captain.

From the 3d to the 29th of August, Preble made three general attacks on the Tripolitan batteries; all conducted with admirable gallantry, and producing a correspondent effect. In the first engagement, lieutenant Decatur, brother of the captain, was killed; but, on the whole, the loss was trifling. In another, the American vessels, fired



a hundred and twenty rounds each, and sunk several gun-boats and a polacre. The Tripolitan force, on this occasion, was very great. They had in the harbour twenty-four armed vessels, one hundred and fifteen guns on the batteries, and, besides the inhabitants, forty-five thousand Arabs to defend the city.

But these long-continued demonstrations of heroic resolution, were not sufficient to break the fetters of captivity, nor lessen the rigours of barbarian insolence. The prisoners were treated with atrocious cruelty. They encountered cold and hunger, labour, menaces, and stripes: they were chained to loaded carts, and, like oxen, compelled to drag them through the town. Every remonstrance made by captain Bainbridge in behalf of his companions, was unheeded; every effort to mitigate their sufferings, unsuccessful. Some new experiment was imperiously demanded. It was, therefore, resolved by the American ministry, to try another enterprise; in order to gain the liberation of the prisoners, and a speedy and honourable peace. This was, a co-operation with Hamet, the ex-bashaw of Tripoli; who had been driven from the government, by the usurpation of his younger brother. Accordingly, William Eaton, of Massachusetts, who had been, for many years, American consul at Tunis, was despatched, to communicate the project to Hamet, and make arrangements for its execution. Eaton performed his part with distinguished lustre. After much embarrassment, he effected an interview with the exiled sovereign, in Upper Egypt; where he had associated with an army of Mamelukes, at war with the Turkish government. Hamet was well pleased with the scheme of the Americans, and appointed Eaton commander of the forces destined for its accomplishment; an event that would restore Hamet to his throne. It was designed to penetrate by land into the Tripolitan dominions; with whatever force could be mustered amongst the partizans of Hamet, supported by as many Americans, and other Christians, as felt for the distresses of the imprisoned seamen. On the 6th  
1805 of March, general Eaton, accompanied by Hamet, with three hundred well-mounted Arabs, seventy Christians, and about a hundred camels laden with baggage and provisions, began his march from Alexandria; and, after fifty-two days, spent in traversing a hideous desert of five hundred miles, during which, all the dangers and perseverance related in romance seemed realized, he arrived before Derna, a city in the regency of Tripoli.

An army, sent by the reigning bashaw, was hastening to its relief; and was then within one day's march of the town. No time was therefore to be lost. Eaton summoned it to surrender. The governor returned an answer of defiance. An assault was made on the next day; when, after a combat of two hours and a half, supported, on the water side, by part of the American squadron, the town was carried by the bayonet. The Christians suffered severely in the action; nearly a third of their number were killed, and Eaton himself was wounded.

On the 18th of May, the Tripolitans advanced, with the design of recovering the captured city: but, after a contest of four hours, in which the Christians engaged the barbarians in the proportion of one to a hundred, the latter hastily retreated behind the mountains. On the 10th of June, a general battle again occurred; the American vessels a second time co-operated, and galled the enemy by a well-directed fire. It lasted nearly five hours, and ended in the farther overthrow of the assailants.

The brilliant progress of general Eaton promised the most glorious and beneficial result. But the fruits of his achievement were blasted, before they reached maturity. The object which had been pursued by arms, was suddenly attained by treaty; a mode always to be preferred, when it involves no degradation of national character; always to be shunned, when there is a sacrifice of honour. This arrangement, made with the reigning bashaw, by Mr. Lear, and ratified in the United States, obtained the release of the prisoners for the sum of sixty thousand dollars; and engaged that the Americans, in withdrawing their forces, should use their influence to induce Hamet to retire.

The state of Massachusetts was not forgetful of the warrior of Derna. Whilst congress was debating whether general Eaton should be rewarded by a *sword*, or by a *medal*, his countrymen displayed a becoming liberality, in voting him ten thousand acres of land.

Fostered by the parental nature of the government, emigrations from the European world continued to increase. New manufactures were introduced into the United States: the sciences were annually spreading. Hardy labourers from Germany and Ireland assisted in giving strength to the republic, by an important addition to its numbers. The axe every where resounded through the western forests, and new communities sought association with the old. Since we noticed the establishment of Kentucky, two other

states were joined in the federal constitution,—Tennessee and Ohio; formed out of the ancient dominions of the Union. In 1789, North Carolina had assigned to the United States a large tract of her western lands. This country was called the southern territory, and erected by congress into a separate government, on the same plan as the north-western. In 1794, its inhabitants, having amounted to thirty thousand, sent a delegate to congress, who, by law, was allowed a seat in the lower house, with a right of debating, but not of voting; and, in two years afterwards, it was erected into a state, called Tennessee, and admitted to a full participation in the advantages of the Union.—Ohio, a portion of the territory westward of Pennsylvania, became a member of the general government in the year 1802; under the first American constitution, that declared, explicitly, against the practice of holding slaves; in conformity with a restriction humanely imposed, by congress, upon all that region of which it forms a part. Its earliest settlers were a colony from New England; who, in 1788, founded Marietta, under the superintendence of general Putnam.

In 1803, Louisiana was purchased from the French government, for the sum of fifteen millions of dollars; two millions and a half of which were to be retained by the United States, as compensation for illegal captures made by France. At this period, its population did not entitle it to an independent rank; but a district of it was subsequently admitted to that privilege, and formed the eighteenth member of the great American confederation.\*

In Louisiana, from the undisturbed navigation of the Mississippi, now secured; by which, the Atlantic is connected with the remote regions of the west, and, (by its joining the Ohio,) with the ancient colonies as far as Pennsylvania; the United States have acquired a territory lessened in value only by its magnitude. Nature is there found in all the majesty of youth. A new field of enterprise is opened, and new productions are added to the rich variety of their former catalogue. The sugar of New Orleans, in size and brilliancy of grain, is not excelled by any in the world: the cotton of the lower district is abundant, and superior, in staple, to the upland species of Georgia or of Carolina. A large quantity of indigo was formerly produced there; but this article, like the indigo of Carolina,

\* In the year 1812.



has been, for many years past, degenerating in quality, as well as decreasing in amount; the planters having transferred their attention to a more profitable cultivation.

Louisiana, the boundaries of which were not then completely ascertained, formed part of the vast region, included, by the Spaniards, under the general name of Florida. One of their officers, De Soto, seems to have passed through the lower districts of this province, and to have reached the Mississippi, at a very early period after the discovery of America. But the interior regions were not in any manner explored, by Europeans, until about the year 1673; when, the French government of Canada sent a few persons to learn the truth of a report given by the Indians, respecting the existence of that great river. They descended the Mississippi, as far down, at least, as the Missouri. But little more was done in its examination, until undertaken by the enterprising La Salle; who, boldly following its course, arrived, in 1682, at its mouth, in the Gulf of Mexico, and named the country after Louis the fourteenth. New Orleans was founded, and became the seat of government, in 1721. The whole population of the colony did not then exceed five hundred. In 1762, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, which gave England possession of Spanish Florida, France, in a secret article, transferred Louisiana to the king of Spain; with whom, it remained, until restored to the French republic, in the year 1800. But the acquisition was only nominal. The maritime superiority of England rendered it impossible for the French to convey an army destined for its occupation; and it was, in consequence, assigned to the United States, at the period already mentioned.

To render the purchase of the utmost benefit, as well as to extend the field of natural science, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, both officers of the regular army, were sent by the president, Mr. Jefferson, with instructions drawn by himself, to explore the river Missouri and the contiguous countries, and discover the best communication with the Pacific Ocean. Never was an arduous enterprise accomplished with more ability and prudence. Accompanied by thirty-five persons, mostly soldiers, they embarked at St. Louis, in suitable boats, in May, 1804, and ascended the Missouri to its stupendous falls, a distance of three thousand miles; thence, crossed the Rocky Mountains, impeded by its everlasting snows, and descended various streams, until, after travelling four hundred miles, they reached the navigable waters

of the Columbia; and, following its course six hundred and forty, were recompensed for all their toils and privations by a view of the Pacific. They reached St. Louis, on their return, in September, 1806, after an absence, from all civilization, of more than twenty-seven months. The journey from St. Louis, was above four thousand miles; in returning, thirty-five hundred; making, in the whole, seven thousand five hundred miles. Only one of their party, of a sickly constitution, had died. Amongst all the Indian nations through which they passed, they were only once incommoded by a skirmish, in defending a rifle.

Their most dangerous enemies were the bears. These are described as most formidable animals, and frequently assailed them. One evening, the men discovered a large brown bear, lying on the open ground, about three hundred paces from the river. Six good hunters immediately went to attack him; and, concealing themselves by a small eminence, approached within forty yards. Four of their number now fired, and each lodged a ball in his body—two of them directly through his lungs. The furious beast sprang up, and ran at them with open mouth. As he came near, the two hunters who had reserved their fire, gave him two wounds; one of which, having broken his shoulder, retarded his motion for an instant: but, before they could reload, he was so close, that the whole party were compelled to run towards the river, and, before they reached it, he had almost overtaken them. Two jumped into the canoe; the remaining four separated, and, hiding amongst the willows, fired as fast as they could re-load. They struck him several times; but, instead of weakening the monster, or causing him to retreat, each shot seemed to invigorate him, and direct him towards the hunters: till, at length, he pursued two of them so closely, that they threw aside their guns and pouches, and jumped down a perpendicular bank, twenty feet, into the river. The bear sprang after them, and was within a few feet of the hindmost, when one of the hunters on shore shot him through the head, and killed him. Captain Lewis, himself, was exposed to a similar peril. Having shot a buffalo, one of at least a thousand which formed a herd, before he could re-load, he was chased by a huge bear for three hundred yards; when, plunging into the river, and presenting his spear, the animal was deterred; and, wheeling about, retreated, in as much haste as he had pursued.

The exploring party were frequently invited to share in

the rude festivities of the Indians. The journal of their observations particularly describes an entertainment given them by a tribe of the Sioux, called Tetons. After eating and smoking for an hour, it became dark, and every thing was cleared away for a dance; a large fire being kindled in the centre of the house. The orchestre was composed of ten men; who played on a sort of tambarine, formed of a skin stretched across a hoop; and made a jingling noise with the hoofs of deer and goats, suspended from a long stick. The third instrument, was a small skin bag, containing pebbles. These, with five or six young men, for the vocal part, made up the band. The women then came forward, highly decorated: some, with poles in their hands, to which were hung the scalps of their enemies; others, with spears, guns, and different trophies, taken in war, by their husbands, brothers, or connexions. Having arranged themselves in two columns, one on each side of the fire, they danced towards each other, until they met in the centre; when, the rattles were shaken, and they all retired to their places. They had no step, but shuffled along the ground; nor did their music appear to be any other than a confusion of noises, distinguished only by hard or gentle blows. The song was wholly extemporaneous. In the pauses of the dance, any of the company came forward, and recited, in a low guttural tone, some little story or event; which was either martial or ludicrous, or voluptuous and indecent. This was repeated, in a higher tone, by the orchestre and dancers; the latter, at the same time, moving in accordance with its strain. The dances of the men, which were always separate from those of the women, were conducted nearly in the same way; except that the men jumped up and down, instead of shuffling; and in the war dance, the recitations were all of a military cast. The harmony of the entertainment was a little disturbed by one of the musicians; who, thinking he had not received a due share of the tobacco which Lewis and Clarke had distributed, put himself into a passion, broke one of the drums, threw two into the fire, and left the house.

1807 In the following year, Mr. Pike, an officer highly conspicuous for his subsequent conduct in the field of battle, accomplished an extensive geographical survey of Louisiana; which, with the former expedition, and the industrious researches of Mr. Bradbury, in the botanical department, have given all the information required of



these countries, in the present state of American population.

This period is remarkable, on account of the trial of Aaron Burr, for a serious offence against the laws of the United States. The circumstances that led to so unpleasant an occurrence, and to the tragical fate of a distinguished member of the republic, by which it was preceded, deserve to be related. At the close of the year 1800, the election for president and vice-president had again occurred; when, the candidates were, besides John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the magistrates then in office, Charles Pinkney and colonel Aaron Burr. Party feeling was high. Strenuous efforts were made to change what was called the "federal" administration of Mr. Adams, for one thought to be more truly democratic. Although the friends of Mr. Jefferson, the democratic candidate, had intended Burr only as vice-president, yet, as he had an equal number of votes, the awarding of pre-eminence, agreeably with the constitution, devolved on the house of representatives. But, after thirty-five several ballotings, the issue was indecisive. However, Burr having at length declined aspiring to the presidency two federal members, who had supported him merely through opposition to Mr. Jefferson, withdrew; and, on the thirty-sixth appeal to the ballot, the latter was elected to the first, and Burr, of course, became entitled to the second, situation.

This scene agitated the public mind more than any of a civil nature that had occurred during the whole administration of the government. It was requisite to guard against a recurrence of so inflammatory result; and, accordingly, an act was passed, whereby the electors are directed to designate the office intended for each individual.

From that time, Burr, who had been a leading man amongst the democratic party, declined in favour with his political adherents. They suspected, that he had connived with the opposition to supplant Mr. Jefferson, and, thereby, procure his own election. His genius, acknowledged to be of the highest order, began to form a plan to recover his former influence. He became a candidate for the office of governor of New York; calculating on success from a junction of his numerous personal friends with the federal party in that state, who formed a respectable minority. The design, however, was not successful. It was defeated by Alexander Hamilton; long the professional rival and politi-

cal opponent of colonel Burr. The disappointed candidate was determined on revenge. He addressed a note to Mr. Hamilton; the consequence of which was a duel, on the 12th of July, 1804, at Hoboken, in New Jersey: where, at the first fire, the latter was mortally wounded.

During the winter, Burr conceived the project of an enterprise in the west. His designs have remained in some degree of obscurity: but, public opinion concluded, that he intended either a governmental separation of the western from the Atlantic portion of the Union; or an invasion of Mexico and other Spanish provinces in the neighbourhood of the United States. For this purpose, having seduced to his interest some individuals of wealth and influence, he assembled a few desperate partizans on the Ohio, and steered his course towards the Mississippi. But the vigilance of the public officers defeated his intentions. He was apprehended, and conveyed a prisoner to Richmond, in Virginia; the state in which his adherents had first collected. On the 17th of August, 1807, he was brought to trial. Several days were consumed in the examination of witnesses; who proved an assembling of twenty or thirty persons on Blennerhassett's island, in the preceding December: but, as it did not appear that the conspirators had used any force against the authority of the United States, or that Burr was present at the meeting, he was acquitted. Indictments had been found against Herman Blennerhassett, and five other persons, for a similar offence: but, on the issue of colonel Burr's trial, the attorney-general declined any farther proceedings.

Alexander Hamilton, of whose valuable services the country was now deprived, was born in the island of St. Croix. His father was a descendant of an English family; his mother was a native of one of the British colonies now comprised in the United States. At the age of sixteen, Mr. Hamilton emigrated to New York, and entered as a student of Columbia College; where, he first manifested those extraordinary talents that afterwards raised him to public notice. Only three years were given to collegiate studies. He could no longer remain in the academic grove, when his adopted country was in danger; and, accordingly, in his nineteenth year, he entered the patriot army, as captain of artillery; in which capacity, having distinguished himself in several arduous engagements, he was, at an early period of the war, selected by the commander in chief as his first aid-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. From

that period, 1777, until the capture of lord Cornwallis, Washington and Hamilton were inseparable companions. At the siege of Yorktown, he led, by his own request, the American detachment, which, simultaneously with an attack made by another party from the French army, gallantly stormed one of the enemy's out-works. In the year 1782, he was elected a member of congress from the state of New York; in which office, he was a distinguished leader, in all the most important measures of the session. Having returned to the practice of the law, he soon gained the foremost rank in the profession. In 1787, he was chosen a member of the convention which formed the new federal constitution. In 1798, when the French republic threatened to invade the United States, and Washington again yielded to his country's call in marshalling her forces, the appointment of Hamilton to the post of second in command was made an inseparable condition of his acquiescence; and, when his illustrious companion was removed from this scene of trouble, he was, in course, at the head of the American army. General Hamilton was killed in the forty-seventh year of his age. Although under the middle stature, he possessed a striking and manly appearance. His mental faculties were of the highest order. As a lawyer and an orator, a soldier, financier, and statesman, he was profound and eloquent; brave, ingenious, and upright.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THREE YEARS' WAR.

*Berlin and Milan Decrees of Napoleon. British Orders in Council. Capture of American vessels. Impressment of American seamen. Embargo. Non-intercourse. War with Great Britain.*

FROM domestic events, it now becomes necessary to revert to the affairs of Europe; to those vast occurrences, the destructive influence of which is almost hidden by their sublimity. For a long time after the spoiliations on the commerce of the United States had ceased, in consequence of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay, their shipping interest



experienced few impediments, worthy of animadversion. Their merchants were enriched by the European warfare, beyond any previous example: their flag, for many years, was the only one that enjoyed the happy and enviable advantage of neutrality. But that great national blessing was doomed to have a period. When, in the year 1804, the flames of inveterate hostility, which had been withdrawn, not extinguished, by the short-lived peace of Amiens, burst forth, and spread with unequalled fierceness; and the feelings of Great Britain, in refusing to acknowledge the imperial dignity assumed by Napoleon, were responded by all the royal families of Europe; the civilized world was shaken by the awful contest. Every antagonist except Britain, was crushed by the arms of France. Napoleon's ambition was bounded only by the fleets of England; her fleets were supported by her commerce and manufactures; and, to annihilate the one, it was necessary to destroy the others. Britain seemed contending for existence; but, while struggling to avert her individual ruin, she affected to be the bulwark of the world. Flattered by this proud assumption of disinterested generosity, the encroachments of Napoleon on neutral rights were met by corresponding obstructions; and, when France interdicted all commerce with Great Britain, the latter denounced all commercial intercourse with France. The Berlin decree of 1806, and that of Milan in the succeeding year, (both issued by Napoleon to prevent the American flag from trading with his enemy,) were followed by the British orders in council; no less extensive than the former, in their design, and equally repugnant to the law of nations.

France, however, had, at this period, no power upon the ocean. Her fleets were, by the fate of war, transferred to her victorious rival. There, France could wage only a combat of decrees. She was unable to preserve a single cruiser, against the superior discipline of the British navy. It was not until the friendly vessels had reached her ports, after sailing from her opponent's harbours, that the confiscations were effected. The plunders, by the other belligerent, could be made at all times; on the ocean, or within her harbours. England was jealous, because America delayed resistance to the feeble marine of France: the latter, enraged, from the patience with which the neutral suffered the encroachments of England. Both continued their depredations; and each strove to rouse the vengeance of the injured against the other.

But there was a farther cause of irritation; arising, solely, from the conduct of Great Britain. This was, the custom of searching American vessels on the ocean, and impressing from them British seamen; a custom at variance with the free principles of the English constitution, when applied to her own, and with the rights of independent nations, when practised against foreign, vessels. The seamen, and consequently the trade, of the United States, were affected, in a peculiar manner, by this proceeding. Using the same language with the native subjects of the British monarch; speaking with the same provincial dialects; resembling them in dress and in personal appearance; it was impossible to distinguish, with legal certainty, the sailors of one country from the people of the other; and, besides, the United States had always exercised a right of naturalizing, after a certain length of residence, the inhabitants of every nation: England had long been in the habit of extending to foreigners, who entered her naval service, a similar privilege; and it was asserted, that to invade the deck of a ship on the common sea, was an act of hostility, no less than the invasion of the land to which the vessel belonged.

1807 The climax of audacity and insult at length arrived. Hitherto, the custom of impressment had been confined to private vessels; but, now, it was carried to the utmost point to which aggression could extend. National armed ships were not exempted from intrusion. Four seamen, deserters from the British navy, were reported to have entered the service of the United States, and to have been received on board the frigate Chesapeake, at that time lying in Hampton Roads, preparing for the Mediterranean. The American government having refused to permit the frigate to be searched, admiral Berkely, commander of his Britannic majesty's fleet on the Halifax station, ordered the officers of a squadron within the capes of Virginia to follow the American beyond the waters of the United States, and then procure from her, by force, if necessary, the reputed deserters. This service was undertaken by captain Humphries, of the Leopard. He followed the Chesapeake; and, on the 22d of June, after demanding the deserters, attacked her with a broadside. This unexpected occurrence so disconcerted her commander, commodore Barron, that he struck his colours, and permitted the four seamen to be taken, without resistance. The

Leopard carried fifty guns, the Chesapeake only thirty six. On board the latter, four men were killed and sixteen wounded: one of the impressed seamen was soon afterwards hanged, and another died in prison. Three of their number were natives of America.

Commodore Barron was tried by a court martial, found guilty of neglect of duty, and suspended from command for the term of five years.

The indignant feeling which arose from that tragical occurrence, was for a moment lessened by the succeeding conduct of the British government. Admiral Berkely's orders were immediately disavowed; he was removed from the American station, and naval officers were instructed to respect, in future, the national armed vessels. But the wound inflicted upon American dignity was yet unhealed. Something farther was demanded as an atonement. An apology was required, not less conspicuous than the aggression. Yet, whilst the offending admiral was degraded in one quarter, he received an appointment, of higher honour, in another: new systems of blockade were invented; the catalogue of commercial articles deemed contraband was still more grievously enlarged. From the amplitude of these, and of the French imperial decrees, a general capture of all American property afloat seemed almost inevitable. Congress, therefore, on the recommendation of Mr. Jefferson, ordered an embargo; prohibiting the exportation of every article from the United States.

In a moment, the commerce of the American republic, from being, in point of extent, the second in the world, was reduced to a coasting trade between the individual states. But, though all had, in public meetings, urged the adoption of efficient measures against the belligerent parties, and pledged themselves to aid the general government in any measures calculated to avenge the honour, or, at least, to guard the property, of the country, yet, many were unwilling to support the very laws which they had recommended. Several states declared against the embargo; and individuals, throughout the whole, seized every opportunity of infringement. Overrating her relative importance in the commercial scale of the Union, New England charged the southern and the western states, which were more employed in agricultural pursuits, with having sacrificed the mercantile interest, through sectional hostility; and traders, in every port, sought to reap a double harvest by infraction. Forgetting the solemn compact, by which the



interest of each state was surrendered for the benefit of all, the former aimed only at her own gratification: unmindful of the sacred duty of citizens, the latter paralyzed the operations of their own representatives, for the sordid consideration of individual gain. The opposition in the eastern states daily grew more violent. The restriction could not be enforced, there, without military coercion. The government, therefore, which, for many years, had sacrificed largely for the preservation of peace with foreigners, found

1809 it expedient to observe a similar conduct at home. They repealed the embargo law, and substituted a non-intercourse with France and England.

The 3rd of March having concluded the administration of Thomas Jefferson, after a second election, he was succeeded in the presidential office by James Madison.

A ray of national prosperity shortly afterwards burst through the general gloom. But the renewal of commercial intercourse with England, arising from the magnanimous reparation for recent injury, offered by Mr. Erskine, (an envoy commissioned to the United States by the liberal administration of Mr. Fox,) and the conciliatory tone used by those enlightened patriots, was, in a short time, suspended, by the refusal, on the part of their successors, now under the baneful influence of lord Castlereagh, to ratify

1811 the treaty concluded by Mr. Erskine. The insulting deportment of the succeeding negotiator, Mr. Jackson, heightened the resentment of the republic; and a rencounter between the American and British ships of war, the President and Little Belt, increased the unfriendly sentiments of England.

The affairs, however, between the Leopard and Chesapeake, the President and Little Belt, were, on the arrival of Mr. Foster from the court of London, finally adjusted. Provision was made by the British government, to support the seamen who had been disabled, together with the families of the unfortunate men killed or wounded by the Leopard; and the two impressed sailors, yet remaining alive, were restored, on the same deck from which they had been unjustly taken.

This was an important victory. But much was still to be accomplished. Every experiment had failed, in procuring a change of the systems practised by Great Britain and France against American trade. The United States now offered to their consideration, that the non-intercourse

would be discontinued, towards either of the belligerents, or both, as soon as they, respectively, ceased to violate the neutral commerce of the republic. This alternative proposition caused a line of proceeding, singularly artful on the part of France. It enabled her ruler to maintain a peace with the United States, and involve the other power in the calamity of war. Napoleon's minister having informed general Armstrong, the American resident at Paris, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked, the non-intercourse, as regarded France, was, by proclamation of the president, withdrawn. But, Great Britain, suspecting the intentions of Napoleon, did not believe that the French decrees were, at this period, actually annulled. Indeed, when it is considered, that nearly two years elapsed, before a copy of the document, by which the emperor asserted they had been repealed, was handed to the American minister; and that its date was seven months earlier than the period of its communication, an impartial observer cannot avoid declaring, that there was greater reason for suspicion than belief.

1812 The formal publication of that mysterious annulment, was followed by a corresponding retraction, on the part of England. But the measure was then too late. The American government had resolved, that what could not be obtained through a sense of justice, should be enforced by the aid of arms. When intelligence of the repeal arrived in the United States, war had commenced against Great Britain. The bill for this purpose was voted in the house of representatives by a majority of thirty members in a hundred and twenty-eight; in the senate, by a majority of six in thirty-two; and confirmed by the approbation of the president.

This *ultima ratio* (the last appeal) was made on the 18th of June; and, as the questions of search and impressment were still unsettled, it was thought to be the interest of the nation that hostilities should be continued, until after a final adjustment of every dispute. It had been long manifest, that both Great Britain and France concurred in the opinion that the spirit of the United States was not martial, and that the majority of the American people were under the influence of commerce: from which supposition, caused by the past forbearance of the government, they presumed, that they would make no other than a war of plenipotentiaries and countervailing statutes. That solemn resolution was not a little hastened by a communication of an ex

traordinary nature, made to congress, by the president. A person named John Henry, more conspicuous for his ability than virtue, had been commissioned by sir James Craig, governor of Canada, to heighten the dissatisfaction of the eastern states, and, thereby, tempt them to withdraw from the federal union. His endeavours proving ineffectual, his mission was not acknowledged by the British ministers, nor his labour, in any manner, rewarded: he therefore assumed a new character; and, as his friends had not remunerated his exertions as a spy, he sought, from his intended victims, the wages of an informer, and obtained fifty thousand dollars for the disclosure.

Some months before the declaration of hostility, congress were seriously engaged in preparing for the contest. Besides the ordinary militia, they voted that an addition of twenty-five thousand should be made to the regular land forces; thus, increasing the latter to thirty-one thousand men: that the existing navy should be placed in a proper state for service, and that two hundred thousand dollars should be annually appropriated to its increase: a loan of eleven millions was authorized, and five millions were directed to be raised by the issue of notes from the treasury department. The duties on goods imported were in general doubled. Taxes were afterwards laid on certain articles of domestic manufacture; upon lands, houses, and nearly every other description of property. In using these resources, however, great improvidence was shown. From the hope entertained of a favourable issue of the negotiation, or the dread existing in the legislators of losing their popularity, internal taxes were not laid on until long after the commencement of actual warfare. The consequence was severely felt. The credit of the government was impaired. Speculators seized the opportunity afforded by a sudden demand for money, and supplied the exhausted treasury by giving eighty dollars each for debentures not redeemable under a hundred.

A few days after the declaration of war, the town of Baltimore was seriously disturbed. Some harsh strictures on the conduct of government having appeared in a newspaper of that city, entitled the "Federal Republican," the resentment of the opposite party was shown by destroying the office and press of that establishment. The commotion excited by this outrage, had, however, in a great measure, subsided, and the transaction was brought before a criminal court for investigation. But events more alarming and



tragical shortly afterwards succeeded. On the 26th of July, Mr. Hanson, the leading editor of the obnoxious journal, who had deemed it prudent to leave the disordered city, returned; accompanied by his political adherents; amongst whom, was general Henry Lee, of Alexandria; an officer distinguished in the revolution, for his bravery in partizan warfare at the head of a legion of cavalry; afterwards governor of Virginia, and a representative from that state in the congress of the federal government. Determined to re-commence the paper, by first printing it in Georgetown, in the district of Columbia, and then transmitting it to Baltimore for distribution, a house was, for this purpose, occupied in Charles street, secured against external violence, and guarded by a party well provided for defence. On the 28th, papers were accordingly issued. These contained severe animadversions against the mayor, police, and people of Baltimore, for the depredations committed on the establishment in the preceding month, and were generally circulated throughout the city.

In the course of the day, it became known, that Mr. Hanson was in the new office in Charles street, and it was early whispered that the building would be assailed. A number of citizens, who espoused his opinions, went, therefore, to the house, and joined in its protection. Towards the evening, a crowd of boys collected; who, after using opprobrious epithets to those within, began to throw stones at the windows; and, about the same time, a person on the pavement, endeavouring to dissuade the youths from mischief, was severely wounded, by something ponderous thrown from the house. They were cautioned from the windows to desist; but still continued to assail the place with stones. Two muskets were then fired from the upper story; charged, it was supposed, with blank cartridges, to deter them from farther violence; immediately, the crowd in the street greatly increased; the boys were displaced by men; the sashes of the lower windows were broken, and attempts made to force in the door. Muskets, in quick succession, were discharged from the house: some military arrived to disperse the crowd; several shots were fired in return; and, at length, a doctor Gale was killed, by a shot from the office door. The irritation of the mob was increased. They planted a cannon against the house, but were restrained from discharging it, by the timely arrival of an additional military force, and an agreement that the persons in the house would surrender to the civil authority. Accordingly,

early in the following morning, having received assurances, on which they thought themselves safe in relying, they surrendered, and were conducted to the county jail, contiguous to the city. The party consisted of about twenty persons; amongst whom, were general Lee, general James Lingo, and Mr. Hanson.

The mayor directed the sheriff to use every precaution to secure the doors of the prison, and the commander of the troops to employ a competent force to preserve the peace. In the evening, every thing bore the appearance of tranquillity; and the soldiers, by the consent of that magistrate, were dismissed. But, shortly after dark, a great crowd of disorderly persons re-assembled about the jail, and manifested an intention to force it open. On being apprized of this, the mayor hastened to the spot, and, with the aid of a few other gentlemen, for a while prevented the execution of the design: but they were at length overpowered, by the number and violence of the assailants. The mayor was carried away by force; and the turnkey compelled to open the doors. A tragedy ensued, which cannot be described: it can be imagined only by those who are familiar with scenes of blood. General Lingo was killed; eleven were beaten and mangled, with weapons of every description, such as stones, bludgeons, and sledgehammers, and then thrown, as dead, into one pile outside of the door. A few of the prisoners fortunately escaped through the crowd: Mr. Hanson, fainting from his repeated wounds, was carried by a gentleman (of opposite political sentiments) at the hazard of his own life, across the adjoining river, whence, he with difficulty reached the dwelling of a friend.

No effectual inquisition was ever made into this signal violation of the peace, nor punishment inflicted on the guilty. The leaders, on both sides, underwent trials; but, owing to the inflammation of the public feelings, they were acquitted.

The Indians on the western frontier were not inattentive to the hostile attitude of the British government. As usual, they deemed the opportunity favourable, to invade the territories which they had, by treaty, surrendered to the United States. Under the influence of a fanatic of the Shawanese tribe, who assumed the name of Prophet, brother of a celebrated chief, Tecumseh; and inflamed, it must, with historical justice, be admitted, by the encroachments of some lawless citizens; the Indians inhabiting the neigh-

bourhood of the Wabash had formed a powerful combination, and assailed the unprotected white settlers with the accustomed barbarities of savage warfare. To repel this invasion, and recover the plundered property, a force was assembled in the Indiana country, consisting of regulars and neighbouring militia, and placed under the command of Mr. Harrison, governor of that district. The expedition was conducted with the greatest prudence, and effectually relieved the unhappy settlers. By the unremitting vigilance of the commander, a treacherous attack on his encampment at the Tippecanoe, a branch of the Wabash river, (on the 7th November, 1811) was repelled, and ample vengeance inflicted, by the dispersion of the entire confederation. But this service was not performed without the loss of many valuable lives. One hundred and eighty American citizens were slain or wounded. Of the former, none were more deservedly lamented than major Davies and colonel Abraham Owens, of Kentucky; men, whose deportment in time of peace, was equally respectable with their conduct in the day of battle.

Amongst the number of general officers about this time appointed, was William Hull; then, governor of the Michigan territory: who was entitled to public confidence from his military services during the revolution. Anticipating the commencement of hostilities with Britain, the war department had given personal instructions to general Hull; agreeably with which, he had proceeded for his destination to the north-west, early in the month of May; and, when arrived at Dayton, a town situated on a branch of the Great Miami, the forces which he had collected in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, were joined by a body of volunteers. These were from the latter state; under the command of colonels Cass, Findley, and M'Arthur. The general then marched directly towards Detroit; a strong military post in Michigan, eighteen miles from lake Erie.

The object of this expedition, was the invasion of Canada. Accordingly, on the 12th of July, intelligence of the war with England having reached the commander, he crossed over into that province, and fixed his head-quarters at Sandwich. He was now distant only a few miles from Malden, the strongest fortress in Upper Canada; reputed to be in general guarded by about one hundred and sixty men. At this time, the garrison had been increased; more, however, in its number than its strength: it consisted of Canadian militia, British regulars, and Indians; a motley



assemblage, amounting, in all, to about one thousand. Several parties were detached from the American army, to reconnoitre the surrounding country; and inconsiderable skirmishes ensued, producing no immediate advantage to either side. But, in the end, they were beneficial to the enemy. Their numbers were, in the meantime, increasing: the spirits of the American army were suffered to cool; their confidence in their leader was rapidly declining. The Canadians were allowed a whole month, to deliberate on the question of submission or resistance: during which interval, they ascertained the materials of the invading army; that they were volunteers and militia, not regular soldiers; and that, whatever might be their individual courage, their bravery would be rendered ineffective by the misconduct of their commander.

Meanwhile, a severe disaster befell the United States, from an invasion by the enemy. Whilst the American general was losing, in vain parade, the opportunity of capturing a British post, his antagonists succeeded in gaining possession of Michillimackinac, by surprise. This fortress is situated at the entrance of the strait that connects the lakes Michigan and Huron, on an island; where, was annually held a market; at which the Indian traders and merchants of Albany and Montreal convened, to exchange the peltries of the north for the commodities of the east; and is important, as commanding the intercourse between those great waters, and a convenient passage between Canada and the United States.

When information of this misfortune reached the American camp at Sandwich, general Hull was filled with most gloomy anticipations. He dreaded, lest the "northern hive" of Indians would be poured upon his rear, and speedily envelop his entire army. Some decisive step, he saw, must immediately be taken. His troops ardently wished to repel the ideal danger, by a victorious assault on the British works: but their leader resolved to avoid it, by a contrary movement—a retreat. On the 8th of August, he determined on returning to Detroit. The British general, Brock, was at no great distance in his rear; and, when arrived at the margin of the adjoining strait, made several demonstrations of an intention to cross it, in order to be siege the American fort. Either panic-struck or influenced by treacherous engagements, general Hull now exhibited strong indications of an intention to surrender that important post, and the whole army under his command, to the very

inferior force of the enemy. Language cannot describe the indignant feelings of his brave associates. When his intention was suspected, a plan was immediately in agitation, to deprive him of his command; and failed only from the precipitation of his surrender. He had not the smallest reason for alarm. A regiment of the line was stationed in the fort: the Ohio volunteers, with a part of the Michigan militia, behind some pickets; so situated, that the whole flank of the enemy, would, in their approach, be exposed to a destructive fire; and the remainder of the latter regiment were in the upper part of the town, to resist the incursions of the Indians. Two pieces of artillery, twenty-four pounders, loaded with grape-shot, were placed on a commanding eminence; ready to sweep the advancing column of the enemy, as it approached the fort. Full confidence in a favourable result was felt by the American army. Every man expected a proud day for his country; and each was anxious to contribute to the victory, by his individual exertion.

On the 15th of August, when the head of the British column arrived within five hundred yards of the American lines, general Hull ordered that the whole should retreat into the fort, and that the twenty-four pounders should not be fired. Immediately, there was heard a universal burst of indignation. The folly was apparent, of crowding eleven hundred men into a work that could be fully manned by three hundred; and into which, the shot and shells from the Canadian shore were continually falling. The order, however, could not be disobeyed. It was not the commander's intention that the garrison should long remain in danger. They were directed to stack their arms; a white flag was hung out upon the walls, and a communication passed between the two generals, which was shortly followed by a capitulation.—Not an officer had been consulted. No one, except the commander, thought of a surrender, until the flag was displayed; and even the women were indignant at so shameful a degradation.

The volunteers and militia, being disarmed, returned, in sorrow, to their respective homes; on condition of not serving again during the war, unless exchanged. The general, and the regular troops, were sent to Quebec, as prisoners of war.

But, it was not thought sufficient to give the enemy undisputed possession of the fortress. The whole territory of Michigan was included in the capitulation. The United

States were not deprived alone of the services of the troops within the fort: detachments, unconnected with the garrison, were involved in the dishonourable agreement. Captain Brush and his party became prisoners at Fort Dearborne: six hundred men under colonel Miller, and three hundred under colonel M'Arthur, (the former on his return from Brownstown, where he had defeated a body of British and Indians,) were also obliged to ground their arms.

On being exchanged, general Hull was arrested and brought to trial; charged with treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty. The court martial, not having legal jurisdiction in treasonable matters, declined giving judgment on the first charge; at the same time, stating, that they did not believe him guilty of treason: yet they found him guilty of the other charges. He was sentenced to be shot: but, in consideration of his revolutionary conduct, and of his advanced age, the court recommended him to the mercy of the president; and the punishment of death was, in consequence, remitted. His name was then struck from the roll of officers: a substitution, less rigorous, as regards the law, but equally painful to every man possessing the honourable feelings of a soldier.

On another element, the Americans received ample consolation for that afflicting disaster. Unexpected laurels crowned their brave defenders on the ocean. A series of achievements had commenced, which, in the course of this arduous contest, raised the naval glory of the United States to an elevation, scarcely surpassed by any nation in the world. Her fleet was few in number; at this period, only seven frigates, eight sloops and brigs, four schooners, and one corvette: yet, with this inconsiderable force, her seamen courted a participation in the struggle, against the gigantic fleets of Britain; which, amounting to a thousand vessels, were then riding triumphantly over the watery surface of the globe.

The Constitution, captain Hull, had sailed from Annapolis on the 5th of July. On the 17th he was chased by a ship of the line and four frigates; when, by an exertion of able seamanship, than which, victory itself, though more beneficial, could not be more worthy of applause, he escaped from the unequal combat. On the 19th of August, he had an opportunity of trying his frigate against a single vessel of the enemy. This was the Guerriere; one of the best, of the same class, in the British navy, and in no way averse to the rencounter; as she promptly awaited



her antagonist's arrival. She had, for some time, been searching for an American frigate; having given a formal challenge to every vessel of the same description. At one of her mast-heads, was a flag: on which her name was inscribed, in conspicuous letters; and on another, the words, "Not The Little Belt;" alluding to the broadsides which the President had fired into that sloop, before the war.—The Constitution being made ready for action, now approached; her crew giving three cheers. Both continued manœuvring for three quarters of an hour: the Guerriere attempted to take a raking position; and failing in this, soon afterwards began to pour out her broadsides, with a view of crippling her antagonist. From the Constitution, not a gun had been fired. Already, had an officer twice come on the quarter-deck, with information that several of the men had fallen at the guns. Though burning with impatience, the crew silently awaited the orders of their commander. The long expected moment at length arrived. The vessel being brought exactly to the designed position, directions were given to fire broadside after broadside, in quick succession. Never was any scene more dreadful.—For fifteen minutes, the lightning of the Constitution's guns is a continued blaze, and their thunder roars without intermission. The enemy's mizen mast lies over her side, and she stands exposed to a fire that sweeps her decks. She becomes unmanageable; her hull is shattered, her sails and rigging cut to pieces. Her mainmast and fore mast fall overboard, taking with them every spar, except the bowsprit.—The firing now ceased, and the Guerriere surrendered. Her loss was fifteen killed, and sixty-three wounded: the Constitution had seven men killed, and seven wounded. The Guerriere was so much damaged, as to render it impossible to bring her into port: she was, therefore, on the following day, blown up. The Constitution received so little injury, that she was, in a few hours, ready for another action.

This brilliant event spread unbounded joy over the whole country. Captain Hull and his equally gallant officers were received with enthusiastic demonstrations of gratitude, wherever they appeared. He was presented with the freedom of all the cities through which he passed to the seat of government, and with many valuable donations. Congress voted fifteen thousand dollars to the crew, as a recompense for the loss of the prize. Sailing-master Alwyn, who had been severely wounded, was promoted to the rank

of lieutenant; lieutenant Morris, who also had been wounded, to the rank of post-captain. The achievement was remarkable. Great Britain had not, in the course of thirty years, lost a frigate in any conflict, with a similar equality of force.

Another victory, not less glorious to the American navy, was soon afterwards gained, by the frigate *United States*, commanded by commodore Decatur; an officer, already distinguished for his skill and courage, particularly in the Mediterranean. On the 25th of October, the *United States*, after an action of two hours, captured, off the Western Isles, the British frigate *Macedonian*. The liberal conduct of the American seamen drew forth a species of praise from the enemy, not less grateful than that experienced from their friends. All the private property belonging to the officers and crew of the *Macedonian* was restored, with the most rigid exactness; and they were treated with the greatest humanity and politeness.

The carpenter of the *United States*, being amongst the killed, had left three small children to the care of a profligate mother. This circumstance, when known to the generous crew, produced an act of benevolence, which deserves to be recorded. They instantly raised a fund among themselves, amounting to eight hundred dollars, for the maintenance and education of the unhappy orphans.

The next naval achievement, was the capture of the brig *Frolic*, of twenty-two guns, by the *Wasp*; a sloop of war commanded by captain Jones. The *Frolic* fired as she rose upon the water; so that her shot was either thrown away, or touched the rigging of the American: the *Wasp*, on the contrary, fired as she descended; and, thus, at every discharge, struck the hull of her antagonist. On boarding the British vessel, the surprise of the Americans can scarcely be imagined. They beheld only three officers, and the seaman at the helm. The deck was slippery with blood; presenting a most awful scene of havoc and distress. The colours were still flying; there being no one left to haul them down. The birth-deck was crowded with the dead, the dying, and the wounded; and the masts soon after fell, covering every thing beneath, and leaving her a melancholy object of devastation. The loss on board the *Frolic*, was thirty killed and fifty wounded; on board the American, five killed and five wounded. Neither of the vessels, however, arrived in the United States. They were both captured before evening, by a British ship of the line.

No subject of martial discipline; not even the long disputed question, which was the most efficient, the Macedonian phalanx, or the legion of the Roman army; ever created a more eager spirit of inquiry, than did the extraordinary success of the American navy. The British assigned, as the cause, the superior dimensions of their enemy's vessels: the Americans, the voluntary enlistment of their seamen. But neither the one nor the other reason, will bear the test of experience. The first is erroneous; because the superiority of a few guns, could not produce a continuation of similar results: the second is equally untrue; being contradicted by historical evidence. During the revolution, the British mercenary soldiers almost invariably overthrew the American militia; and, in the English navy, no difference has been, at any time, recorded, between the exertions of the impressed seamen, and the volunteer. The cause, however, may easily be discovered. It arose, entirely, from the superior accuracy of the American fire; and the point to which the shot was, in every instance, directed. The French aim their engines of destruction at the rigging; thus, hoping to escape from a disabled enemy; the English, chiefly at the deck; but the Americans pursue a system different from either, and combining the advantages of both. They pour their unerring fury against the hull; the shattered sides admit overwhelming torrents of the ocean, and the descending vessel compels the drowning enemy to strike his colours.

Feats of naval prowess were not confined to the public ships of the United States. The exploits of private armed vessels, daily filled the gazettes. Privateers sailed from every port; to distress, or reap advantage from, the enemy; and exhibited the same superiority that was displayed by the regular navy. One of the first at sea, was the *Atlas*, commanded by captain Moffit; which, with the *Dolphin*, commanded by captain Endicott, the *Comet*, the *General Armstrong*, and the *Decatur*, became particularly conspicuous. A revolutionary veteran, also, commodore Barney, sailed from Baltimore, in the *Rossie*; and evinced, by a rapid series of success, that none of his early vigour was abated by the hand of time. Before the meeting of congress, in November, nearly two hundred and fifty vessels were captured from the enemy; and more than three thousand prisoners. Upwards of fifty of those were armed; carrying nearly six hundred guns.

The good effect of these splendid triumphs, in promoting



confidence, soon extended beyond the element on which they had been gained. A spirit was, thereby, roused on land; producing a happy contrast to the previous languor of despondence. In the western and southern states, volunteer corps were, every where, forming, and tendering their services to march to any quarter of the Union. Great alacrity was shown in the western sections of Pennsylvania and Virginia; but this generous zeal was the most forcibly displayed in Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee. Civil pursuits were, there, forsaken, for the operations of war: private concerns were abandoned, for the general interest of the nation; and this enthusiasm pervaded the bosoms of each sex, and every age. Females, in the humblest, as well as in the highest, rank of life, prepared military clothing and knapsacks for their relations and friends. In a few weeks, upwards of four thousand volunteers were, in these states, ready for the field. The command of the Kentucky forces was assigned to general Payne; those of Ohio were placed under general Tupper; the troops of Virginia and Pennsylvania, respectively, under generals Crooks and Leftwich. General Harrison was invested with the supreme command in the west; and, by his subsequent exertions against the Indians, near the Wabash, the Miami of the Lakes, and other places in that distant quarter, maintained the confidence merited by his previous operations.

Towards the close of the year, the American forces on the northern frontier were concentrated chiefly into two bodies: one division near Lewistown; consisting of some regulars newly enlisted, and militia, under general Van Renssalaer of New York: the other, in the neighbourhood of Plattsburg and Greenbush; under the commander in chief, general Dearborne. The former was named the army of the Centre; to distinguish it from the division of Harrison: the latter, the army of the North. Some regulars and militia were stationed also at Black Rock, Ogdensburgh, and Sackett's Harbour. It was expected, that, before October, every thing would be ready for a formidable invasion of Canada. But, from an extraordinary cause, there was experienced considerable disappointment. Unfriendly to the war, particularly to its being made offensive, the governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, refused to allow the militia of these states to march, under the requisition of the president. They declared, that they were, themselves, the proper judges, in accordance with the federal constitution, of the necessity

which might require them in the field. Their refusal delayed, for a short time, the intended movements, but did not depress the spirits of the troops collected. Dearborne, who had been appointed in consequence of his experience in the revolutionary war, aided by general Alexander Smyth of Virginia, who was considered an able tactician; together with such officers as Pike, Boyd, and Scott; was unremittingly engaged in drilling the undisciplined, and diffusing organization throughout the whole. Nearly ten thousand men were, at length, embodied on the northern lines, and skilful sea-officers were employed in forming a navy on lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain.

An achievement, performed on lake Erie, by lieutenant Elliot, in the capture of two British vessels, the Detroit and Caledonia, kindled, in a high degree, the ardour of the forces. They demanded to be instantly led to the invasion of Canada. Unless gratified, some of the volunteers threatened, immediately to return home. An opportunity was soon given by their commander, of ascertaining, whether this eagerness was the spirit of the genuine soldier, or the puerile rashness of inexperience. General Van Renssalaer having resolved to attack the heights of Queenstown, made an attempt, at four in the morning of the 11th of November, to cross the Niagara. The passage, however, could not then be effected. The failure rendered the troops almost ungovernable; and no time was therefore lost in preparing for a second trial. Early on the morning of the 13th, the men were again embarked, under cover of the American batteries; the force designed to storm the heights being divided into two columns; one, of three hundred militia, under colonel Van Renssalaer; the other, of as many regulars, under colonel Christie; to be followed by colonel Fenwick's artillery and the remainder of the army. Van Renssalaer, who led the advance, and directed the entire, having scarcely reached the shore with a hundred men, when he was severely wounded, the command of his party devolved on captain Ogilvie; who, at the head of this trifling number, drove the enemy with precipitation down the hill. The detachment under colonel Christie now landed; and re-enforcements arrived from the main body of the army. On the other hand, the British received an accession of force, with equal rapidity; general Brock arriving with six hundred regulars. A sanguinary contest ensued. Brock's regiment was put to flight, by an inferior body, under Christie; and, in the carnage, he himself with his aid-de-

camp was slain. Thinking the victory complete, general Van Renssalaer now arrived, for the purpose of fortifying a camp against any future attacks, in case the enemy were re-enforced. But the fortune of the day was not yet decided. Joined by several hundred Indians, the British, at three o'clock, made another assault, and, at the point of the bayonet, were a second time repulsed. A third attempt was made; and thrice had the Americans been victorious: yet, their equally brave antagonists were determined not to leave the field. They were soon rallied; and hastened, a fourth time, to regain the disputed ground. The American commander was not inattentive to their approach. He re-passed the river, to quicken the departure of the reserve; who, he perceived, were tedious in entering the boats. But they positively refused to embark! The same men, that, in the morning, had reproved the tardy movements of their leader, now, with equal insubordination, opposed every entreaty to assist him. Threats, supplications; appeals to their honour, their patriotism, their humanity; were made in vain. More than twelve hundred men, under arms, stood on the opposite beach, as idle spectators of their associates' destruction. They pleaded constitutional privilege for their desertion: thus, using the rights of freemen as an apology for cowardice.

In the meantime, the engagement was renewed, with mutual desperation. The American militia were soon driven off the ground; the regular soldiers, not above three hundred, were left to sustain the action alone, and at length, overpowered by superior numbers, the whole were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. These, with their brave companions who had fallen in the contest, amounted to at least one thousand.

During the embarkation, a fire had been opened from Fort St. George, on the Canadian shore, against the American fort, Niagara; which was returned, and continued, on both sides, throughout the day. A battery, intrusted to captain M'Keon, was managed with conspicuous ability; having enveloped in flames several houses, near the British works: and, in a few days afterwards, in the time of another tremendous engagement between the forts, in which major Armistead, of the United States artillery, was particularly useful, the former officer was again equally distinguished.

On this occasion, a remarkable instance of female bravery occurred. The wife of a common soldier, named Doyle,



who had been taken prisoner at Queenstown, incensed to a high degree by the captivity of her husband, volunteered her service, and continued to serve red-hot shot until the last gun was fired; although the shells from the enemy's batteries fell constantly around her.

Van Renssalaer having resigned, the command devolved on general Alexander Smyth; who announced, in a most vaunting manner, his resolution of immediately retrieving the honour of his country, by another attack on the Canadian frontier. He accounted for the late disasters, by the injudicious operations of his predecessor; and invited fresh bands of volunteers, to partake in the glory which was to proceed from the well-directed plans of a brave and accomplished leader.

His address excited considerable animation. Before the end of November, he was attended by nearly five thousand men; consisting of regulars, and volunteers, from Pennsylvania, New York, and the town of Baltimore. These were carefully drilled, and properly equipped. A sufficient number of boats was in readiness to carry them, at once, to the scene of action. Two detachments, sent over in advance, by their spirited assault, (particularly that led by captain King,) gave a cheering presage of success. But this bright prospect was soon converted into a saddening gloom. A portion of the recent unmilitary feeling, or, rather the entire, seemed transfused into the breast of the present leader: the embarkation of the main body was retarded much beyond the appointed time; so that, when twelve o'clock arrived, only two thousand men had left the shore. At this time, the enemy had prepared to oppose their landing, and general Smyth had changed his plan of invasion. He ordered, that the troops which were on their way should immediately return. Great murmuring followed this unaccountable procedure; but it was, in some measure, silenced, by the assurance, that he would soon make another attempt. The general can scarcely be charged with a breach of promise: on the 29th, the entire body, except about two hundred, were in the boats; the men conducting themselves with great order and obedience. Nothing was now wanting but the word to move; when, orders were suddenly given for the whole to disembark, and make arrangements for going into winter-quarters; as the invasion of Canada was postponed until the following season.

A loud burst of indignation assailed the vacillating lead

er: the greater part of the militia threw down their arms, and returned home: much dissatisfaction was every where excited; and his military reputation from that period rapidly declined.

The army of the North, stationed along the St. Lawrence, was, in the meantime, sufficiently energetic. But the lamentable surrender of general Hull having defeated its principal design, the capture of Montreal, nothing of importance was effected before the ensuing year. Captain Forsythe and colonel Pike made bold incursions into the enemy's country: and general Brown, of the New York militia, after a sharp action of two hours, repelled a large body of British soldiers; who, in retaliation, had attempted the destruction of Ogdensburg.

The indefatigable exertions of commodore Chauncey, in creating a fleet upon the northern lakes, produced most beneficial results. During the revolutionary war, the operations on these inland seas extended not beyond the contests of temporary gun-boats, or inconsiderable schooners; but preparations were now making, from which, arose, a sublimity of combat, not less interesting than the battles on the extended waves of the Atlantic. In the beginning of October, the Americans had not a single armed vessel on lake Erie; and their whole force on lake Ontario was a brig carrying sixteen guns. The commodore began his operations on the former in the first week of November. His fleet then consisted of the *Oneida* of sixteen guns, and five smaller vessels, carrying all together thirty-two guns; whilst the British fleet carried upwards of a hundred; yet, notwithstanding this great inequality of strength, he occasionally skirmished with squadrons of the enemy; at one time, causing the flight of the *Royal George* of twenty-six, and at another, capturing the *Prince Regent* schooner of eighteen guns.

Thus, the navy had been invariably successful, and the army, though equally brave, when brought into action, had been, in almost every instance, unfortunate. The one had been the early favourite of the party that now opposed the war; the other, considered, by the ministerial adherents, as the only means of national defence, (excepting gun-boats,) worthy of attention. When congress re-assembled in November, the glory of the seamen was contrasted with the misfortunes of the army, as a fresh argument against the measures of the existing government. Party spirit rose to an alarming height; and, as usual, the members of the

several legislatures were not less under its influence, in their public, than in their private situations. Mutual charges were made, of French control and improper submission to the outrages of Britain. Some degree of justice seemed to be on the pacific side; yet, the advocates for war were able to produce arguments, equally meriting attention. A proposal for an armistice, made by the governor of Canada, had been thought inadmissible; and a similar offer by admiral Warren, was, on the same principle, rejected: but, on the other hand, the American minister at London had made a pacific overture, which proved abortive; and a mediation offered to the British government, by the emperor of Russia, was equally ineffectual.

Congress had not been long in session, when the public feelings were once more excited by most flattering news. The flag of another British frigate was transferred to the capitol, and placed amongst the former trophies of the American navy. This achievement was gained by the *Constitution*; a vessel already distinguished under the command of captain Hull, and now bearing the flag of commodore Bainbridge. In October, this frigate, with the *Hornet*, captain Lawrence, sailed from New York, to effect a junction with the *Essex*, commodore Porter; which departed about the same time from the Delaware: the whole intending to cruise in the Pacific Ocean, and destroy, in that quarter, the British fisheries and commerce. The junction not happening at the place appointed, commodore Porter passed round Cape Horn, alone; and, in the meantime, on the 29th of December, a few leagues west of St. Salvador, the *Constitution*, which had, some days before, separated from the *Hornet*, descried a British frigate. After a severe action, which continued about an hour, the enemy lay an unmanageable wreck. Having struck her colours, she was found to be the *Java*, commanded by a gallant officer, captain Lambert; who was mortally wounded. Besides her own crew, of four hundred men, she had a hundred, designed for service in the East Indies: also, a number of distinguished passengers; amongst whom, was general Hislop, governor of Bombay. The *Constitution* had nine killed and twenty-five wounded; the *Java*, sixty killed, and a hundred and twenty wounded. The prize was in a miserable condition. It being found impossible to bring her into port, she was, in a few days afterwards, blown up. On arriving at St. Salvador, the commodore received the public acknowledgments of governor Hislop;



who, in consideration of that officer's polite treatment, presented him with an elegant sword. The private passengers were released, without being viewed as prisoners: those holding situations under their government, as well as the officers and crew, were liberated on parole.

1813 A melancholy contrast to that gratifying incident was soon offered to the public mind. Fresh disasters in the west, accompanied by circumstances that rarely occur in the annals of history, tended greatly to check the national joy, for that second victory of the Constitution.

General Harrison had fixed his head quarters at Franklinton; his object being to concentrate a respectable force at the Rapids, and, thence, proceed to the reduction of Detroit. In the meantime, general Winchester continued at Fort Defiance, with about eight hundred men; many of the volunteers having returned home, after the expiration of the term of service. Those who remained were chiefly from Kentucky: the greater part ranked amongst the wealthiest and most distinguished citizens of the state. Early in the month of January, general Winchester, having received intimation from the inhabitants of Frenchtown, a village situated on the river Raisin, between the Rapids and Detroit, that a large body of the British and Indians designed to concentrate there; and that they dreaded the horrors of an Indian massacre; the sensibility of the young volunteers was strongly excited, and they earnestly besought the general to lead them to their defence. With some reluctance, and, contrary to the arrangements of the commander in chief, he yielded to their wishes. Accordingly, he sent forward a detachment, under colonels Lewis and Allen, with orders to wait at Presque Isle until the arrival of the main body. An advanced party of the enemy having already taken possession of Frenchtown, it was determined instantly to attack them. There followed a severe conflict. But the British were at length defeated, pursued by a continual charge for many miles, and entirely dispersed. The Americans then encamped, and remained in their position until the 20th; when they were joined by general Winchester. His whole force was now about seven hundred and fifty men. Of these, six hundred were placed within a breast-work, and the remainder encamped in an open field. But they were allowed only a short respite from fatigue. On the morning of the 22d, they were suddenly attacked by a combined force, under general Proctor and the Indian leaders, Split-Log and Round-Head;

and, though quickly ready for their reception, their strength was every moment failing. It was fruitless to contend with the enemy's superior numbers. In order to preserve the remainder of his brave party, the general surrendered them prisoners of war; on condition of their being allowed to retain their private property and side arms, and of being protected against the usual fury of the Indians. At this time, the killed, wounded, and missing, of the little army, amounted to more than three hundred. But the loss during the engagement was the least deplorable disaster. Instead of being guarded by the British soldiers, the prisoners were, with few exceptions, assigned to the charge of the Indians, to be marched in the army's rear, to Malden; and the greater part were murdered on the way. Those who had escaped the dreadful tomahawk or scalping knife, were reserved, by the cruel escort, for an abominable traffic. They were dragged from door to door through the streets of Detroit, and offered to the inhabitants for sale.

The people of Detroit exhibited a degree of tenderness for their unfortunate countrymen, which entitles them to everlasting gratitude. All classes eagerly sought opportunities of redeeming the unhappy captives. For their purchase, many parted with every thing of value. The female sex were particularly conspicuous for their sympathy: they promptly bartered what clothing they could spare; next, their ear-rings, and, when nothing else remained, the blankets from their beds. Mr. Woodward, formerly a judge of the supreme court, was a father to the survivors. He remonstrated with general Proctor, in the manly tone of his injured country; depicting, in appalling language, his infamous behaviour. Several of the British officers, also, are deserving of praise: particularly, major Muir, captains Aiken and Curtis; the reverend Mr. Parrow and Dr. Bowen.

The news of this melancholy affair reached general Harrison when on his march to Frenchtown with a re-enforcement. He had heard, with displeasure, the unauthorized movement of general Winchester: apprehending the result, had then ordered a detachment to push forward to his relief: and, now, sent on a chosen body, to save any of the wretched party who might have escaped. But their number was very small: the snow, being deep, rendered it almost impossible for them to make their way.

Shortly afterwards, the general erected at the Rapids a defence; named by him in honour of the governor of Ohio, Fort Meigs. The enemy had been, for some time past,

collecting in considerable numbers, for the purpose of besieging this place; which, as the troops expected from Ohio and Kentucky had not yet arrived, was in considerable danger: but the Pennsylvania brigade, under general Cooks, although its term of service had expired, volunteered for its protection. This fort is situated on a rising ground, a few hundred yards distant from the river; the banks of which are chiefly natural meadows. With the aid of captains Wood and Gratiot, his two principal engineers, the general laboured, night and day, to strengthen its fortifications: the garrison, amounting to about twelve hundred men, being in high spirits, and resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity.—On the first of May, the British commenced a fire, with one twenty-four pounder, one twelve, a six pounder, and a howitzer. By these, no material injury was done; though general Harrison narrowly escaped being killed: a ball struck a bench on which he was sitting, and, at another time, a man was mortally wounded by his side. On the 3d, an additional battery assailed the American works, at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards, furnished with a mortar; which, after throwing a number of bombs, was completely silenced. The Indians now mounted on the trees, fired into the fort, and killed and wounded several of the garrison. At this time, the levies under general Clay, were seen approaching, and orders were instantly sent to this officer to detach eight hundred men, for the purpose of landing on the opposite side of the river, and destroying the enemy's batteries; a sortie from the garrison being, in the meantime, projected, against the battery erected on the same side with the fort. Colonel Dudley, who was charged with the performance of the first service, overcame the four batteries in an instant, compelling their defenders to retire; and, having executed his orders, commanded a retreat. But his men, elated by success, and eager to avenge the recent slaughter of their countrymen, pushed forward, with irresistible impetuosity. The consequence was dreadful. In a few moments, they were surrounded by an Indian army, three times their number, headed by the brave Tecumseh; a desperate fight ensued, and a scene of slaughter almost as terrible as at the river Raisin. Only a hundred and fifty escaped: the rest were either killed or taken prisoners. Colonel Dudley was amongst the slain; a melancholy sacrifice to rashness and insubordination.

This, in some measure disconcerted the plan of the sortie



from the fort. Yet, colonel Miller sallied out at the head of three hundred men, assaulted the besiegers' entire line, though manned by three hundred and fifty regulars and as many Indians, spiked the cannon of the principal batteries, and returned with above forty prisoners.

Happily, this was the last occasion requiring the garrison to display their active bravery. The Indians, after their successful ambuscade, having, according to their usual custom, returned home, notwithstanding the entreaties of Tecumseh and his subordinate chieftains, general Proctor made instant preparations to retreat; when, a cessation of hostilities taking place, arrangements were entered into for an exchange of prisoners, and, on the 9th of May, after an assault of thirteen days, the enemy withdrew.

The termination of this siege was glorious to the defenders, and reflected lustre on the American army. It taught their enemies, that, in future, they must expect to meet a resistance different from what they had experienced from Hull; and, that if they would succeed in overcoming an American fortress, they must previously destroy the garrison.

Designing to organize the expected forces, general Harrison returned to Franklinton. Here, a deputation from all the Indian tribes residing in Ohio, and some of the territories of Indiana and Illinois, having made a tender of their services to follow him into Canada, their offer, after some deliberation, was accepted; as, hitherto, the United States employed none of the friendly Indians, with the exception of a small band commanded by Logan, a distinguished chief, a nephew of Tecumseh. They were advised to remain neutral. But the advice could not be understood by these warlike people: they considered it rather as a reproach upon their courage, than a desire to promote their welfare; especially, as several inroads had been made upon their settlements by the hostile tribes: for which reason, general Harrison now consented to their wishes; on condition that they should be merciful to their prisoners, and, in all things, conform to the established rules of civilized warfare.

Our attention is next drawn to the military operations on the northern frontier; where, events of a very important character had occurred.

During the winter, Great Britain had sent a number of troops to Halifax; for the purpose of ascending the St. Lawrence in the spring, and being in early readiness to aid in the defence of Canada. Recent victories of the allied sov-

ereigns on the European continent, by which, Napoleon's gigantic power was almost annihilated, had decreased her necessity, and, consequently, her desire, of pacification with the United States. A larger force could therefore be directed against her trans-atlantic enemies; and, besides, the militia of her American provinces were disciplined with unusual care.

By an exchange of prisoners, many valuable officers, taken in the first campaign, were restored to the American army. The troops enlisted in the middle and northern districts, were marched to Sackett's Harbour and other places in the neighbourhood; where, by the indefatigable industry of Pike, now promoted to the rank of brigadier general, they were converted into efficient soldiers.

The first interesting engagement, in that quarter, took place on the 21st of February; when, the British, with twelve hundred men, having attacked Ogdensburg, compelled the Americans, under colonels Forsythe and Benedict, to evacuate the place. The vanquished troops, however, had, soon afterwards, an opportunity of silencing the triumphs displayed by the enemy on this occasion. Lake Ontario was no sooner clear of ice, than a descent on the Canada shore was projected; the first object of attack, being York, the capital of the upper province, the depot of the British military stores for supplying their western posts, and a place of great importance to the success of either party. The plan, chiefly suggested by general Pike, was highly judicious; and, at his particular request, general Dearborne, intrusted him with its execution. On the 27th of April, the troops, escorted by commodore Chauncey, who rendered most important assistance, reached the place of debarkation, at the ruins of Toronto, about ten miles from the town of York. Major Forsythe, and his corps of riflemen, were the first on shore, amidst a galling fire of musketry, and were in a moment engaged with the whole force. General Pike followed; and, afterwards, a detachment under major King; consisting of the light artillery, a volunteer corps, and a few riflemen, commanded by major Eustace, colonel M'Clure, and lieutenant Riddle. Placing himself at the head of the first formed, general Pike ordered the rest to follow rapidly, and ascended the bank against a shower of bullets from the grenadiers. He charged with impetuosity: they were thrown into confusion, and fled. Scarcely was this achieved, when the bugles of Forsythe announced that he, also, had been victorious.—A fresh body of the

enemy's grenadiers now suddenly issued from the woods; making a desperate charge on major King's regiment. It faltered for a moment; but immediately rallied, and drove the British from the field. Again, they were seen forming at a distance; but re-enforcements having, by this time, landed from the fleet, they retreated from the adjacent garrison.

The American troops were now arranged according to the intended order of battle. They moved forward with becoming ardour and veteran precision. They confided in their leader, and their leader placed a well-grounded confidence in them. On emerging from a wood, a twenty-four pounder opened from one of the enemy's batteries: but this was soon taken, and the column moved on to the second, which was abandoned on their approach. General Pike here ordered his men to halt; for the purpose of learning the strength of the garrison of York, and obtaining other information; for, as the barracks appeared to be evacuated, he suspected a stratagem, to draw him within the reach of some secret force. Lieutenant Riddle was sent forward to ascertain the enemy's situation. Meanwhile, the heroic Pike, as humane as he was brave, occupied himself in removing a wounded British soldier from a place of danger; and, after performing this act of generosity, was calmly seated on the stump of a tree, in conversation with another soldier who had been taken prisoner; when, suddenly, the air was convulsed by a tremendous explosion. The British magazine, at the distance of two hundred yards, near the barracks, had blown up. Huge stones and fragments of wood were rent asunder, and whirled aloft, by the exploding of five hundred barrels of gunpowder. Immense quantities of those fell in the midst of the victorious column, killing and wounding upwards of two hundred men. Amongst the wounded, was general Pike. But the Americans, though for a moment confounded, soon recovered their former order: the ranks were instantly closed, and their undaunted spirit was evinced by three loud huzzas.

The wound of the gallant Pike was soon found to be mortal; yet he still retained the fire and solicitude of the soldier and commander. "Move on, my brave fellows," he exclaimed, "and revenge your general." They instantly obeyed. He was then carried on board a vessel, and, shortly afterwards, gratified by the sight of the British flag. On seeing the victorious trophy, his eyes, over which approaching death had already drawn the prophetic film, for



a moment, resumed their lustre; and, making signs for it to be placed under his head, he contentedly expired.

After a short delay, the Americans, under colonel Pearce, moved forward towards the town, and, on their way, were met by an offer of capitulation. The public stores were assigned to the invaders, and all the troops surrendered prisoners of war. The British loss, in men, amounted to seven hundred and fifty, in killed, wounded, and captured; of the latter, there were fifty of the line and five hundred militia. The public property destroyed was immense; and that which was reserved uninjured, amounted in value to at least half a million of dollars.

The object of the expedition being now fully attained, the American forces evacuated York on the 1st of May, and re-embarked: but the fleet did not leave the harbour until the 8th.

An attack on Fort George, and Fort Erie, unsuccessfully attempted the year before, was the next thing to be undertaken. Accordingly, on the morning of the 28th, (a severe cannonade between the opposite batteries having occurred the day before, decidedly advantageous to the Americans) generals Dearborne and Lewis embarked, with their whole force, amounting to four thousand men. The advance, under colonel Scott, consisting of five hundred, was exposed, in approaching the shore, to incessant volleys of musketry, from at least twelve hundred regulars, stationed in a ravine; yet, they faltered not a moment: no sooner were they formed on the beach, than they were led to the charge, and dispersed the enemy. Meanwhile, the works, on each side of the river, were furiously engaged. Fort George being in a short time rendered untenable, the British laid trains to their magazines, and hastily retired. The American light companies took possession of the abandoned works; captains Hyndman and Stockton having entered first, and extinguished the fire intended to create the explosion. The former withdrew a match at the imminent hazard of his life. Before twelve o'clock, the whole of the fortifications in that quarter were surmounted by the American flag: the enemy having lost, in killed and wounded, above two hundred and fifty men, besides six hundred prisoners; their antagonists, only thirty-nine killed, and a hundred and eight wounded. High praise was given by the commodore and the general to the forces under their respective orders. Scott and Boyd were particularly mentioned; and much honour was gained by colonel M. Porter and major Arm-

instead of the artillery; captain Totten of the engineers, and lieutenant Oliver H. Perry of the navy. Commodore Chauncey himself bore a distinguished part in this splendid enterprise; the judicious attack with his vessels, on the different batteries, having largely contributed to its success.

A few days afterwards, it became known, that the enemy, under general Vincent, amounting to fifteen hundred men, had encamped on the heights at the head of Burlington Bay. The American commander determined to allow them no repose. A force, therefore, much superior in numbers, under Chandler and Winder, in a short time arrived within a few miles of their position; using every means, as well to prevent their escape, as to guard against surprise. The situation of the British army was almost hopeless. To contend openly, would have been the last refuge of despair; yet, what could not be gained by this alternative, might, notwithstanding, be accomplished by address. Their commander resolved to try the fortune of an attack in the night. The fires kindled by the Americans, whilst they guided the assailants to their camp, served to conceal them during their approach. Several of the American sentinels, owing to the extreme negligence of the main guard, were silently bayoneted by the enemy; who, to the number of seven or eight hundred, passed them when asleep. The assailants now raised a tremendous Indian yell. The main body of the Americans were, by this, suddenly awoke, and, seizing their arms, commenced a heavy and destructive fire. An awful combat immediately overspread the encampment. A scene of confusion followed, equally distressing to the commanders, and difficult of description. The soldiers of one party were intermingled with those of the other; the darkness of the night rendered friends undistinguishable from foes, and the irregular firing of the whole prevented the respective orders being heard. General Chandler was at length entangled amongst the enemy; general Winder soon afterwards found himself in the same situation, and both were taken prisoners. Finding two pieces of artillery limbered, the British drove them off, overturned others, hastily retired, and, before day-light, concealed themselves with the main body in a wood. The Americans returned to Fort George; harassed, nearly the whole way, by the Indians, and their disappointment rendered still more grievous, from the capture, by an armed schooner, of nearly all their camp equipage and baggage.

The movement of general Dearborne against the fortifications on the Niagara, was attended with imminent danger to Sackett's Harbour. In his absence, it experienced a formidable attack. Sir George Prevost having embarked, with a thousand men, on board the fleet of sir James Yeo, scarcely had commodore Chauncey arrived at Niagara, when the British squadron appeared off the harbour. An alarm was immediately given. General Brown, with about a thousand men, of every description—seamen, artilleryists, militia invalids, and volunteers—made the best preparation that the occurrence would permit. At the only place of landing, he hastily raised a battery and breast-work; behind which, some militia and artillery were stationed; and the remainder of his forces, in a second line near the public buildings. The approach of the enemy's boats, did not, at first, disturb the firmness of the militia, who formed the front line; but, when they had discharged their muskets, they were seized by a sudden panic, and neither threats nor entreaties could arrest their flight. A sharp conflict now began, with the regulars and artillery under colonel Backus: who retired gradually; taking possession of the houses and barracks, and continuing to annoy the assailants from the windows. At this time, the hopes of the American commander revived. Ashamed of their panic, (to which, indeed, the bravest troops, if inexperienced, are subject,) a considerable part of the militia had rallied near the scene of action: with these, general Brown marched silently through the woods, in apparent secrecy, yet intending to be discovered. The stratagem was successful. Believing that his rear was in danger of assault, and perhaps informed that a strong re-enforcement to the Americans was approaching, the British commander ordered a retreat, and, leaving his dead and wounded on the field, hastily embarked.

The attack, however, although repulsed, created considerable damage. Supposing that his friends were entirely beaten, commodore Chauncey, agreeably with a previous arrangement, set fire to the public store-houses, and, before the flames were suppressed, the destruction was extensive.

General Dearborne, having been, for some time, labouring under a severe indisposition, now retired from service; assigning Fort George to the care of colonel Boyd. The American arms soon afterwards experienced a severe reverse, by an irrational attack on a British party at La



Coose's House, about seventeen miles from the fort: and on the 8th of July a general skirmish ensued, without any advantage remaining on either side. Losses were frequently occurring, from the peculiar warfare of the Indians: Boyd, therefore, considering the forbearance, hitherto observed, in refusing the service of the friendly tribes, injurious to the army, accepted the aid of the Seneca nation, having about four hundred warriors, under young Cornplanter: with a stipulation of the same nature as that entered into by the western Indians with general Harrison. On the last day of July, twelve hundred British landed at Plattsburg, destroyed the public stores, and carried off large quantities of individual property; interesting engagements continued between sir James Yeo and commodore Chauncey; in which, the latter, though he contended with the utmost gallantry and skill, suffered occasional defeats.

During the first year of the war, the Atlantic shore enjoyed a state of comparative peace. Early in the spring, however, a devastating mode of hostility began, against the most exposed southern states; a distinction having been made between the north and south: from a belief that the northern states were not only unfriendly to the war, but strongly inclined to separate from the Union, and return to their former allegiance under the king of England. On the 4th of February, a British squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and some shipping of inferior size, ascended the Chesapeake, destroyed the small vessels employed in navigating the bay, and effectually blockaded its entire waters. About the same time, another squadron, under admiral Beresford, entered the Delaware, and, on the 10th of April, demanded from the people in the village of Lewistown a supply of provisions: which were spiritedly refused by colonel Davis; the officer commanding at this place. The frigate *Belvidera* then moved near the village, and commenced a furious bombardment. But this mode of obtaining a supply was equally ineffective. Her fire being returned from a small battery hastily erected on the shore, after a cannonade of twenty-four hours, the attempt was relinquished. Another trial, near the same place, in the ensuing month, met a similar opposition: the admiral having attempted to land a party from his barges, major Hunter, who was detached by colonel Davis with a hundred and fifty men, made so gallant a resistance, that he compelled them to hasten to the shipping: soon after which, the squadron returned to Bermuda

In the meantime, scenes of the most distressing kind were presented in the Chesapeake. Admiral Cockburn was satiating his unmanly and unsoldierlike propensities, in a species of warfare, at once reflecting dishonour on the brave and generous character of the British navy, staining his own memory with indelible reproach, and imbittering, for ages, that antipathy, which, since the early period of the revolution, was still existing. Having taken possession of several islands in the bay, particularly Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar islands, he could make an easy descent upon the neighbouring shores. At first, his depredations were directed against the farm-houses and seats of private gentlemen. These were plundered, their owners, in the rudest manner, insulted; and cattle which could not be removed were wantonly destroyed. This devastating hostility was, in a short time, practised on a bolder and more extensive scale. Frenchtown and Havre de Grace; the one a village situated on Elk River, the other, a more considerable town, higher up the bay, on the Susquehanna, and both places of deposit for military and mercantile property, in its passage between Baltimore and Philadelphia; were plundered, and entirely burned. Georgetown and Fredericktown, two beautiful villages on the river Sassafraz, experienced a similar destruction. The opposition made by the few inhabitants and militia who hastily assembled, was unavailing, against five hundred well disciplined marines. The people of Frenchtown, after firing a few shots, fled on the enemy's approach; with the exception of an old Hibernian, named O'Neil. This heroic citizen continued the battle, alone; loading a piece of artillery, and firing it himself, until, by recoiling, it ran over his leg and wounded him severely; and even then, exchanging his piece of ordnance for a musket, and limping away, he still kept up a retreating fight with the advanced column of the British. He was, at length, made prisoner, but, soon afterwards, released.—The behaviour of colonel Veazy and a small party at Fredericktown, was equally deserving of applause. Aided by a few militia, the remainder of fifty who had opposed the enemy on their landing, this brave officer continued a steady and well-directed fire, until longer delay would bring inevitable destruction upon themselves, and increased severity upon the neighbourhood.

The arrival of admiral Warren augmented the British naval force in the Chesapeake, to a formidable number. Seven ships of the line and twelve frigates, with a pro-

portional attendance of smaller vessels, and a large body of land troops accompanied by sir Sidney Beckwith, held undisturbed possession of the bay. The unguarded villages had already felt the unsparing hand of barbarous warfare: the strongest cities were now in danger of destruction. Baltimore, Annapolis, and Norfolk, were equally in expectation of assault.

Norfolk was destined as the first object of attack. The naval and military commanders were alike active in making preparations against the impending danger. Commodore Cassin, having received intelligence that a squadron of the enemy had arrived in Hampton Roads, ordered that the frigate *Constellation* should be anchored between the two forts, which command the approach to Norfolk; and that the gun-boat flotilla, under captain Tarbell, should engage the foremost of the enemy. Ten thousand militia were already assembled in the town. The flotilla did considerable damage to one of the advancing frigates; but was soon under the necessity of retiring. Four days afterwards, (on the 22d of June,) the British were discerned approaching, with about four thousand land troops; whom, they endeavoured to disembark on Craney Island, out of the reach of the American gun-boats. But, in avoiding one danger, they encountered another, more destructive. A battery, under the direction of lieutenant Neale, was managed with so much precision, that several of their boats were cut in two, the admiral's barge was sunk, and the whole force, after half their number had landed, compelled to make a precipitate retreat. Nor was this the only scene of their disappointment. A large body who had disembarked on the main shore, were not less ably resisted by the Virginia volunteers, on their crossing the narrow inlet to the west. Here, too, they were forced to relinquish the attempt; their loss, altogether, being two hundred in killed and wounded, besides a number who seized the opportunity of deserting. The Americans lost not a single man.

The safety of Norfolk, as well as of Gosport, Portsmouth, and other places, is to be attributed to the resolute defence of Craney Island. The conduct of lieutenant Neale and his equally brave companions, Shubrick, Saunders, and Breckenridge, was gratefully acknowledged by the inhabitants; and colonel Beaty and his officers were no less entitled to applause.

Changing the mode of approach, the enemy determined on proceeding against Hampton; a town, distant about



eighteen miles from Norfolk. The fortifications of this place were of small importance: the garrison was weak; not exceeding four hundred men. Possessed of this place, it was thought that Norfolk would be the more easily subdued; as its communication with the upper country would then be entirely interrupted. On the 25th, admiral Cockburn advanced, with a number of barges, tenders, and smaller vessels; throwing rockets, and firing towards the town: while general Beckwith landed below, at the head of two thousand men; intending to march up and gain the American rear. But the admiral was so warmly received by major Crutchfield, the officer commanding at Hampton, who opened against him a few pieces of artillery, that he was compelled, instantly, to withdraw, and conceal his men behind a point.

The general now appeared, and was severely galled by a rifle company under captain Servant, which had been posted in a wood. Major Crutchfield soon afterwards brought his infantry to their support; but, finding himself unable to stand against numbers so superior, he retreated. The enemy were rapidly gaining ground. Captain Pryor, who had been left to command the battery that had opposed them in their landing, when the royal marines had approached within sixty yards, and his party were in immediate danger of being captured, ordered the guns to be spiked; and, charging upon the enemy, threw them into confusion: by which act of desperation, he effected his escape, without losing any of his men. Altogether, the Americans lost, in killed and wounded, nineteen; the British, thirty-eight.

With painful feeling, and reluctance, we here record the barbarities that followed. Unwilling to perpetuate the recollection of atrocities, and, consequently, prolong the hostile feeling towards the British, we would pass them over in silence; yet, a brief memorial seems imperiously required, to animate the exertions of every citizen against invasion at a future day. The troops employed in the attack on Craney Island, were chiefly of the vilest description; prisoners, of various nations, taken from the French armies in Spain: who had entered the British service with a view of rewarding their own desertion by the plunder of their friends. No sooner was the town in possession of these wretches, than leave was given them to satiate the worst passions of corrupted nature. Neither age nor sex, sickness nor decrepitude of years, restrained the monstrous cruelties of these barbari-

ans. Some justification of their enormities was offered by the British commander. When appealed to by general Taylor, sir Sidney Beckwith declared, that excesses were permitted in retaliation for the conduct of the Americans at Craney Island, in shooting at a crew of English seamen, who had clung to their barge when overset; nevertheless, that the troops had proceeded to a degree of severity, unwarranted, and that, on learning the extent of their enormities, he had ordered them to re-embark. The Americans, however, deny the existence of that ground of retaliation; it having, after solemn inquiry, appeared, that they had acted with uniform humanity.

During the remainder of the summer, the British were employed, chiefly, in threatening Washington, Annapolis, and Baltimore. Admiral Cockburn was permitted to follow his inclination, by moving with a large squadron to the south; where he carried on, in the Carolinas and in Georgia, the same species of warfare so extensively practised by him in the Chesapeake.

To this, a pleasing contrast was shown, in the deportment of commodore Hardy; who commanded a squadron off the northern states. His conduct was brave, honourable, and humane: whilst performing his duty as a British officer, he did not forget the laws of established warfare: he fought the battles of his country; but, with the severity of the soldier, he blended the mildness of the Christian.

The United States now so justly estimated the value of their marine department, that congress, during the last session, authorized the building of several additional vessels.

This confidence, arising from the success of the past, was not impaired by the achievements of the future. Succeeding victories were equally splendid with the former. The arrival of the *Hornet* gave another addition to the long catalogue of naval triumphs. Captain Lawrence had been ordered to blockade a British ship of war at St. Salvador; which vessel was formally challenged by the *Hornet*; but, unwilling to risk the loss of a large amount of silver, she thought it prudent, though of superior force, to decline the combat. The *Hornet* afterwards sailed for Pernambuco; on the 4th of February, captured an English brig of ten guns, with above twenty thousand dollars; then, sailed along the coast of Maranham, and on the 22d steered for Demerara. The next day, captain Lawrence engaged a large national armed brig, the *Peacock*; pouring into her

so heavy a fire, that, in fifteen minutes, she not only surrendered, but hoisted a signal of distress. She was cut almost to pieces, and had already six feet of water in her hold. The sea rushed impetuously through her wounds; threatening every moment to engulf her. A party were immediately sent to remove her crew on board the *Hornet*. They found, that her captain had been killed, that the greater part of her men were either killed or wounded, and that she was rapidly sinking, notwithstanding all their efforts to keep her above the water. Her guns were now thrown overboard, the shot-holes stopped, whilst a part of the *Hornet's* crew laboured strenuously to save the vanquished. But the utmost exertions of these generous men were unavailing: she sunk, in the midst of them; carrying down nine of her own men, and three of the Americans.

Hitherto, invariable success had attended the navy; but, for a while, Great Britain seemed to have regained her ancient character of invincibility. Perhaps, this change was beneficial to the United States. A longer continuance of victory might have relaxed that vigorous discipline, which, the want of confidence, not experience, had established.

On the 10th of April, a few days after the arrival of the *Hornet*, the Chesapeake frigate returned to Boston, from a four months' cruise; when, her commander, captain Evans, being appointed to the New York station, she was assigned to captain Lawrence. About the latter end of the month, the British frigate *Shannon*, commanded by captain Broke, appeared off Boston Harbour, prepared for a desperate encounter; and sent a formal challenge to captain Lawrence: which, unfortunately, he did not receive. He was, at this time, absent from the port. On arriving, he was informed, that a British frigate was lying off the harbour; apparently inviting a combat with an American. He was pleased with the occasion; as he burned with impatience again to meet the enemy. But his spirit was more commendable than his prudence. He did not sufficiently inquire into the relative condition of the vessels. The greater part of the Chesapeake's crew had been recently discharged; others had been enlisted, and several of the officers were sick. Under these disadvantages, he sailed out on the first of June, determined to risk a battle. When he came within sight of the *Shannon*, he addressed his crew; but found that they listened with no enthusiasm: some heard him with sullen coldness; others, with murmurs and dissatisfaction. They alleged, as a reason of complaint, the non-payment of



their prize-money. For this, he immediately gave them tickets, and thought that they were reconciled: but he was mistaken; they were, at this moment, almost in a state of mutiny. At length, the Chesapeake closed with the enemy, and gave her a broadside; which was returned with equal destruction: but the Chesapeake was more unfortunate in the loss of officers. A second and a third broadside were exchanged, with the same misfortune. A hand grenade, thrown from the Shannon, exploded in the arm-chest of the Chesapeake, with disastrous effect. Captain Broke, with great alertness, seized the moment of distress, and boarded the American. A scene of horrid carnage ensued. Captain Lawrence had been mortally wounded early in the action, and carried below; exclaiming as he left the deck, "Don't give up the ship;" every officer, qualified for command, was either killed or severely wounded, and, of the crew, one-third were disabled. In twelve minutes from the commencement of the action, the ship was overcome, and her colours hauled down. Of the enemy, twenty-three were killed and fifty-six wounded. On board the Chesapeake, about eighty men were killed and as many wounded; the greater portion of which loss was suffered after the enemy had gained the deck.

The bodies of captain Lawrence and lieutenant Ludlow, who, also, had been mortally wounded in the action, were interred by the enemy at Halifax, with every honour,—civil, naval, and military. A passport being obtained from commodore Hardy, they were afterwards brought to the United States, by Mr Crowninshield of Salem, in his own barge, manned by twelve masters of vessels.

Seldom did any victory create in England, amongst the adherents of the government, a more pleasing sensation, than the capture of the Chesapeake. Not even the brilliant achievements of Wellington in Spain, nor of Nelson, on the ocean, had called forth more lively expressions of satisfaction; and, in accordance with this feeling, the prince regent conferred upon the victor, who had undoubtedly evinced the utmost contempt of danger, the honour of knighthood.

On the 4th of August, another American vessel was captured by the British. A sloop of war, the Argus, had the misfortune to be vanquished. After conveying Mr. Crawford, the United States' minister, to France, the Argus proceeded early in June to cruise in the English channel; where, she continued for two months, committing extensive

havoc amongst the enemy's shipping; and causing so much alarm, that the British merchants were unable to procure insurance on their vessels, navigating in that quarter, under three times the customary premium. Several ships of war were ordered out in search of this daring and destructive foe; one of which at length discerned her, amidst the flame of a brig which she had set on fire. This was the Pelican; a vessel of her own class, but said to be two guns superior to her in force. An action commenced, at the distance of musket shot; the Pelican being to windward. At the first broadside, captain Allen of the Argus fell, severely wounded; and lieutenant Watson, also, on whom the command devolved, after a brave and skilful performance of his duty for an hour and a half, was rendered unfit for service, and was succeeded by lieutenant Allen. In five minutes more, the Argus was so greatly damaged in her rigging, that she could no longer be manœuvred; and, after sustaining a tremendous raking fire for half an hour, she surrendered.

Captain Allen, who was justly a favourite of his country, with midshipmen Delphy and Edwards, died in England; where they were buried, with all the professional tributes of respect.

America was soon afterwards consoled for the loss of the Argus. Victory again favoured the republic. In the following month, the brig Enterprise, lieutenant Burroughs, when a few days out of Portland, captured the Boxer; a vessel rather superior in effective force. The Enterprise had only one killed and thirteen wounded; but that one was the lamented Burroughs. The British loss was more considerable; and amongst their slain, also, was their commander, captain Blythe: who was buried by the side of his antagonist, in Portland.

Meanwhile, extensive preparations were making on the land. In the west, the campaign opened with an affair, which, though of small importance, as affecting the chief object of the war, was, nevertheless, conspicuous for its brilliancy. This, was the remarkable defence of Fort Sandusky, by major Croghan; a youth of only twenty-one years of age. When commanding at another post, Croghan, having received information that the enemy intended to invest the fort of Lower Sandusky, had marched hither, with some additional men, and been occupied, with great assiduity, in placing it in the best posture of defence. But the only addition that he was enabled to complete, was a ditch

around the stockade of pickets; a species of fortification which encloses these hastily constructed forts, but affords small protection against artillery. One six pounder was his entire ordnance: a hundred and sixty men, regulars, and Pittsburg and Petersburg volunteers, the total number of his garrison. There seemed no likelihood of his defending the place. General Harrison, conceiving it impossible to hold it, ordered him, on the approach of the enemy, to destroy the works, and retire. But this, the heroic Croghan, taking the responsibility on himself, determined to disobey.

On the 1st of August, general Proctor appeared, with about five hundred regulars and seven hundred Indians, together with some gun-boats; when, after making the most prudent arrangements to cut off the garrison's retreat, he demanded a surrender. But the major refused to obey the summons. Finding that his companions would support him to the last, he retained, in presence of the enemy, the same courage as when expecting their arrival, and returned the answer of a soldier. He withstood, undaunted, the whole fury of their cannon, directed against a single point of his defence; strengthening it with bags of flour and sand: concealed his six pounder loaded with slugs and grape, in the bastion that covered the angle through which the assailants meant to enter; and, reserving his fire, until several hundred of their number had reached the ditch, commenced, with an effect, so destructive, that nearly the whole were either killed or wounded. The resolution of the assailants, seemed equal to the calm gallantry of the defenders. The assault was repeated, with bravery augmented by resistance. But those who escaped destruction from the cannon, were met by a shower of bullets from the small-arms, the remainder sought shelter in the woods, and, the next morning, disappeared.

This exploit called forth the admiration of every party in the United States. The commander, and his companions, captain Hunter, lieutenants Johnson, Bayley, Anthony, and Meeks; ensigns Ship and Duncan; of the regular army; as well as all the other officers and volunteers; were highly complimented by the general, and received the still more conspicuous approbation of congress. Croghan was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel; and, to render his happiness complete, was presented with a sword by the ladies of Chilicothe.

The utmost exertions had been making to gain the ascendancy on lake Erie. The completion of the naval force



in this quarter; a means so essential to check the British progress in the west; was intrusted to commodore Perry: an officer, already mentioned in our history, who joined the steadiness of age with the ardour and enterprise of youth. He was then in his twenty-eighth year. His fleet consisted of two vessels, each of twenty guns; two of four, one of three, one of two, and three of one gun each: in all, nine vessels, carrying fifty-six guns. The British squadron, which was commanded by captain Barclay, comprised one vessel of twenty-one guns, one of seventeen, one of fifteen, another of ten, and two of three, guns each; in the whole, six vessels, mounting sixty-nine guns. On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy appeared off Put-in-Bay, where commodore Perry was at anchor, bearing down upon the latter with a fair wind. The American squadron soon got under way: the engagement having commenced with the largest vessel in advance, became general along the line. The conflict was tremendous. The British fought with a degree of bravery worthy of their ancient fame; the Americans, with resolution becoming the defenders of their country. The flag-ship of commodore Perry suffered dreadfully in the loss of men; and was, every moment, on the point of sinking. He descended into a boat, and proceeded, amidst the hottest of the fire, to another vessel; at the same time, waving his sword on high, to invigorate his men. Three hours, had the battle held the combatants in awful suspense, before the scale of victory was turned. At length, the laurel crown was assigned to Perry; the triumph was complete;—not a single vessel of the enemy escaped.

The Americans were now masters of the lake; but they still felt the effects of Hull's surrender. Part of their territory was yet in possession of the British. The next movements of general Harrison were against the captured fortress of Detroit, and the Canadian fort at Malden. Placing, at the former, a strong guard under colonel M'Arthur, on the 27th of September, he embarked, with his main body, consisting of several thousand regulars, militia, and volunteers from Ohio and Kentucky; and, passing over lake Erie, landed about three miles below Amherstsburch. The British general, Proctor, had, in the meantime, evacuated Detroit, and destroyed the fort and public stores of Malden; and, joined by Tecumseh's Indians, retreated across the Thames. General Harrison determined on pursuing. On the 2nd of October, he marched with thirty-five hundred of his most active troops, consisting of a few regu-

lars, colonel Ball's dragoons, colonel Johnson's regiment, with some of governor Shelby's volunteers; and, after skirmishing with the Indians, and capturing a guard with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, reached the place where the enemy had, the night before, encamped. They were drawn up across a narrow strip of land; hemmed in, on one side, by a swamp, and, on the other, by the Thames: their right consisting of Indians, under Tecumseh; posted in a thick wood, in the vicinity of a morass. General Harrison immediately prepared for battle. His manner of attack was judicious. Knowing the dexterity of back-woods men in riding through a forest, and the ease with which they carry rifles in that situation, he determined to surprise the regulars, by charging them with colonel Johnson's mounted regiment; who were, accordingly, drawn up in front. The horses, at first, recoiled from the enemy's fire; but, soon afterwards, again getting in motion, at full speed, with irresistible impetuosity, broke through the opposing column. In a moment, the contest was over, in the foremost ranks. The Americans instantly forming in their rear, were preparing to make another charge; when, the British officers, finding it impossible to form, with sufficient rapidity, their shattered ranks, immediately surrendered. Much, however, was still to be accomplished. The Indians were not yet disturbed. They remained, unshaken, at their post. The tremendous voice of Tecumseh was distinctly heard, encouraging his warriors, who, though beset on every side, fought with more obstinate courage than had, at any time, been witnessed in these people. But the gallantry of Johnson soon deprived them of their spirit. Rushing towards the spot where the faithful warriors clustered around their chief, amidst the well-aimed bullets which the conspicuous figure of the brave Kentuckian, from his uniform and white horse, attracted as he approached, he was discovered by Tecumseh, when covered with wounds, and at the moment when his horse was about to sink, from the loss of blood. The chief, having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomahawk; but, amazed by the appearance of his antagonist, for a moment withheld his blow. The interval was fatal. Leveling a pistol at his breast, colonel Johnson instantly brought him to the ground; and the Indians, no longer hearing the voice of their leader, soon afterwards dispersed.

The British loss in this engagement was seventy killed and wounded, and six hundred prisoners. The Americans

lost, in killed and wounded, about fifty; amongst the slain, was colonel Whitely, a soldier of the revolution; who served, on that occasion, as a private. Shelby, the venerable governor of Kentucky, bore a distinguished part in the honours of the day. Though, in the struggle for independence, particularly on King's Mountain, he had, already, entailed a heavy debt of gratitude upon his country, he now, at an age approaching seventy, came forward to establish what he had aided in acquiring.

The Indians left a hundred and twenty on the field: but the fall of Tecumseh was more weakening than the loss of half their nation. No longer attempting to renew the war, they were received by the Americans as allies.—Tecumseh was the most formidable chief that ever raised the tomahawk against the United States. Subtle, brave, eloquent, and liberal; of a dignified and commanding aspect; a form, at once well proportioned and majestic; he was fitted to gain the affections of his people, and lead them to the most desperate encounters.

Harrison now allowed the greater part of the volunteers to return home; and, stationing general Cass at Detroit, with about a thousand men, proceeded, according to instructions, with the remainder of his force, to join the army of the centre, at Buffaloe.

To make a serious impression on Canada, if not a total conquest of the province, was, again, a favourite object with the American government. Recent victory had increased the confidence of the administration, and revived the martial spirit of the people. A larger force, than at any former period, was collected along the northern frontier. At the head of the war office, was placed general Armstrong; a man of acknowledged energy and talents; naturally inclined to military study; and, by a long residence in Europe, skilled in all the modern improvements in that arduous department. Dearborne was succeeded by general Wilkinson, from the southern district; an officer supposed to possess more extensive military science than any other in the United States: and general Wade Hampton, from the same quarter, distinguished, as well as Wilkinson, amongst the revolutionary soldiers, was also summoned to aid in the intended enterprise. The troops collected under the former, on the Niagara frontier, amounted to eight thousand regulars; independent of those shortly expected under Harrison. The latter assembled at Plattsburgh; numbering four thousand men; and, making a to-



tal superior to any mustered since the beginning of the war. The Americans had the command of the water communication: Fort George and the neighbouring shores were in their possession. General Armstrong himself, with more solicitude, however, than prudence, visited the army, to deliver instructions for the campaign: and the ablest officers that the Union could afford—Brown, Scott, and Macomb; Boyd, Porter, and Forsythe—accompanied the expedition.

Montreal was destined to be the first object of attack. The chief place of rendezvous was Grenadier's Island; half way between Sackett's Harbour and Kingston: whence, it was appointed that the army should embark, and proceed down the St. Lawrence to a convenient place for landing. A brilliant rencounter, which occurred on the 21st of November, between an American regiment, under colonel Ripley, and a superior number of the enemy, at Chrystler's field, gave a happy specimen of bravery and skill, and promised a glorious consummation of the army's hope: but, a letter received by the commander in chief, from general Hampton, declaring the impracticability of his co-operating in the original design, stopped any farther prosecution of the campaign. The army then retired into winter-quarters at Frenchtown Mills.

Opinion was much divided as to the causes of this failure, as well as to the party that should bear the blame. The dissatisfaction was in proportion to the flattering anticipation of success: and even the government was not without a share of the universal censure; for having associated two officers, Wilkinson and Hampton, between whom there had previously existed a well-known spirit of hostility.

But the injury suffered by the United States did not end merely in disappointment. Failing in the extension of their conquests, they were deprived of their former acquisitions on the Canadian shore. Fort George was shortly afterwards abandoned. Before the middle of December, the force under general M'Clure, to whom, the charge of that fortress had been given, being reduced, by the departure of the militia, on the expiration of their term of service, to a number insufficient for its defence; it was evacuated and blown up. His retreat was preceded by an act which excited universal dissatisfaction throughout the United States, and caused severe retaliation by the enemy. Misconceiving his instructions, he left the handsome village of Newark in flames: this provoked the resentment of sir George Prevost; and, accordingly, Fort Niagara being surprised, owing

to the negligence of captain Leonard, by a party of British soldiers, the garrison, nearly three hundred in number, were, all, except about twenty, put to the sword: and, immediately the invaders began to lay waste the adjoining frontier; burning Lewistown, Manchester, Youngstown, the Indian village of the Tuscaroras, and Buffaloe.

In the meantime commodore Chauncey had skirmished with the enemy's squadron; capturing, by unremitting vigilance and consummate abilities, several armed vessels, and forcing the remainder to keep within their harbour: but the inconsiderable breadth of the passage which separates the frontiers in the neighbourhood of the several forts, allowed the British to cross over in their small boats, and rendered his naval superiority, in that respect, unavailing.

1814 The impolicy of carrying on offensive war, for the purpose of conquering a British province, was, every day, more apparent. Though the army had improved in discipline, and individuals had acquired renown. the national aspect was becoming, on the whole, more gloomy. Inexperience in commissarial affairs promoted waste and disappointment. At one time, the soldiers were furnished with exuberance; at another, they were destitute of sufficient food. Those comforts which preserve the health, and invigorate the spirits, of an army, were generally wanting; and, in the snowy regions of the north, the men, thus neglected, or made subservient to individual avarice, suffered more by sickness than the sword. The expenditure was, thus, three times larger than the ministerial estimates; and the consumption of the regular soldiers, greater than could be balanced by recruiting. Militia and volunteers could be assembled for defence: but regulars, only, were suitable for offensive war; and recruits for the regular service came forward with reluctance, because the name of enlisted soldier was held in disrepute. No expedient, however, was left untried, to remove the prejudice, or act on the cupidity, of the people. The pay was enlarged, immediate bounty offered in money, and future benefit in lands. Several millions of acres, were, for this purpose, surveyed, in Illinois, and a large quantity in Missouri; of which, a hundred and sixty were to be given to each private, and a proportionate allowance to subordinate officers, on the conclusion of the war.

In the beginning of the year, a British flag of truce arrived at Annapolis, with despatches for the American government; announcing the expulsion of Napoleon's armies

from Spain, his signal defeat, about the same period, at Leipsic, and, that, notwithstanding the rejection of the Russian mediation, the prince regent of England was willing to enter on direct negotiations of peace. The president having frankly acceded to the proposal, it was agreed, that commissioners should assemble at Ghent. Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, and Jonathan Russel, were appointed, on the part of the United States, to proceed to Europe; and, with John Quincy Adams, (son of the ex-president Adams,) James A. Bayard, and Albert Gallatin, diplomatists already there, to commence the pleasing business of conciliation.

Mr. Clay had filled the arduous duties of his office with conspicuous dignity and attention. His chair was, at his departure, assigned to Langdon Cheves, an eminent lawyer of Carolina; who, by his talents and uniform disinterestedness, gained, in that exalted station, the universal esteem of his country.

After the failure of the campaign against the British provinces, the northern army remained in winter quarters, without any material occurrence, until the latter end of February. General Wilkinson had submitted several plans of attack on the different posts in his vicinity: which, however, did not meet the concurrence of the secretary of war; who directed, that the army should be withdrawn from its position, to Plattsburgh, and that general Brown should proceed with two thousand men to Sackett's Harbour, accompanied by a due proportion of field and battering artillery. On the 13th of March, general Wilkinson, at the head of about four thousand men, recrossed the Canadian lines, for the purpose of attacking La Colle's Mill; a fortified stone-house, garrisoned by about two thousand, under major Handcock: but, after a persevering assault, in which, he suffered considerable loss, he was obliged to relinquish the design. The unfortunate issue of this affair, combined with the failure of the late campaign, having brought Wilkinson into disrepute, the administration suspended him from command, and, in his place, appointed general Izard. Wilkinson, however, after a minute investigation, was honourably acquitted of every charge.

Whilst M'Donough was employed in forming a navy on lake Champlain, the indefatigable Chauncey was equally industrious in keeping pace with the enemy's preparations on lake Ontario. It was required, that every nerve should be exerted, in this quarter. The British were here build-



ing a ship, of no less magnitude than a hundred and twelve guns; and, as they had failed in contending with the American vessels when afloat, they endeavoured, by formidable incursions, to destroy them on the stocks, as well as the naval stores, intended for their equipment. Their most daring attempt was made against Oswego. Here, colonel Mitchell commanded; and, though, after a heavy bombardment, by a superior number of the enemy, under general Drummond, he was compelled to evacuate the fort, yet, by his provident removal of the stores, and obstinate resistance, they gained only a barren victory, with considerable loss of men. Their killed and wounded were at least two hundred. The Americans were not tedious in following their example. On the 29th of May, a party, under major Apling and captain Woolsey, having entered Sandy Creek, carried off a hundred and thirty seamen, together with all the boats and cutters in the harbour; an enterprise severely felt by the British squadron; as it lost thereby, many of its ablest officers, and commodore Chauncey regained the command of lake Ontario.

The death of colonel Forsythe, one of the most distinguished officers in the whole army, who, at this period, was killed in a skirmish with the enemy, was deeply lamented. But an occurrence of a different kind, about the same time, caused a much more serious impression on the public mind. An American officer, colonel Campbell, having crossed lake Erie with five hundred men, and landed at Dover, a small Canadian village, destroyed the mills, together with the greater part of the private dwellings; a proceeding that underwent the investigation of a military court: by which, it was determined, that, although the destruction of the mills might be justified, by the usages of war, on account of their having furnished the British troops with supplies, the damage inflicted on the dwellings could not pass without disapprobation.

The eastern states did not escape, entirely, from the evils attending this extensive warfare. The aversion to hostilities entertained by the majority in New England, nor the partiality which it was supposed they felt for the British, in comparison with the French government, was not sufficient to protect their coasts, throughout the war, from the ravages of the English navy. Saybrook and Brockway's Ferry, Wareham and Scituate, had, in the beginning of April, to lament the entire destruction of their shipping. A part of the district of Maine, lying between Penobscot

river and Passamaquoddy, as well as all the islands on the eastern side of the bay, were, soon afterwards, completely overrun by the invaders. They declared this section to be a portion of the British empire, and induced two-thirds of the people to swear allegiance to the crown of England. Very different, however, was their reception at Stonington. Its destruction was prevented by the gallantry of its inhabitants; and victory, considered by the enemy as certain, thus changed, into the mortification of defeat.

The American navy continued to be an interesting object of attention. Commodore Porter, although constrained to yield the *Essex* at Valparaiso, suffered no loss of reputation. His services, before entering the Pacific Ocean, and his glorious cruise in that distant quarter, where twelve armed ships, carrying above a hundred guns, had been taken by him from the enemy, could not be erased, by his yielding to a superior squadron, whilst apparently protected by the usages of a neutral port. Nor is commodore Decatur the less entitled to national esteem, though, in the following year, the chance of war placed him in contact with another squadron, which, anxious to revive the drooping laurels of the British flag, had roused his indignation, by transferring the fruit of their combined manœuvres to a single frigate. The confidence in these distinguished officers underwent not the smallest diminution: the American navy maintained, in every action, the same superiority by which its glory was acquired. The sloop of war, *Peacock*, by the capture of the brig *Epervier*, impressed the name of Warrington on the public mind; and a vessel of the former class, the *Wasp*, (lately built,) which compelled the surrender, in different actions, of the *Reindeer* and *Avon* brigs, caused yet stronger feelings of respect for the memory of Blakely. His memory is all that his fellow-citizens can now contemplate. The *Atlanta*, a vessel of eight guns, taken off Madeira, was the last trophy gained by that officer. The *Wasp* never returned to the United States: no information of her fate has been received, and all hopes of her arrival have, long since, disappeared. This was a severe affliction. But, if a continuation of success could, in any manner, diminish the regret for the loss of so many valuable lives, the United States, in the ensuing spring, received no small degree of consolation. The *Hornet* sloop of war, commanded by captain Biddle, captured the English national brig, *Penguin*; and the *Constitution*, under captain Stewart, overcame the united forces of the

Cyane and the *Levant*; the latter carrying eighteen guns; the former, thirty-four.

On the northern frontier, the army not only retained its accustomed spirit, but emulated the high character of the navy, by its improvement in discipline. The battle of Chippeway, in which, on the 4th of July, the British commander, Riall, retreated before general Brown, was an achievement happily gained on the anniversary of American independence; and Niagara soon afterwards witnessed, that, although general Drummond, the superior of the vanquished leader, had determined to retrieve the misfortune of his arms, the victorious officer was able to heighten the brilliant character of himself and his companions, by a second conquest. Chippeway is remarkable in the annals of America: but the battle of Niagara may justly be ranked before all the anterior engagements of the war. The obstinacy displayed by the British soldiers, enhanced the merit of their enemy, but did not prevent general Riall, nor even the aid-de-camp of general Drummond, from gracing the triumph of the victors.—In these actions, generals Scott, Ripley, and Porter, conducted their several divisions in the brave and able manner insured by their previous conduct: colonel Miller, with majors Hindman and Jessup, Leavenworth and M'Neil, though of inferior stations, were not less energetic in their duty; and captain Towson evinced the same precision in the management of his artillery, that, since the commencement of the contest, had rendered his name a familiar topic of applause.—A party of the enemy, who had crossed the Niagara with the design of recapturing general Riall, were repulsed by the firmness of major Morgan; and a more formidable attack on Fort Erie, (retaken by the Americans,) in which the whole energies of the British officers were exerted, was repelled by the good conduct of the army under the prudent superintendence of general Gaines.

But these conspicuous proofs of advancement in military knowledge, did not enable the Americans to enlarge the boundaries of their conquests, nor even to retain a footing on the Canadian side. The weather growing cold, and the season of inaction fast approaching, it was thought expedient to transport the whole army into the United States; thus, terminating the third invasion of that British province.

Early in June, intelligence having arrived of the complete success of the allied powers in Europe, and the con-



sequent dethronement of Napoleon, most serious apprehensions were entertained from the exertions of Great Britain, now directed against a single point. It was naturally supposed, that some place in the southern portion of the Union, would feel the earliest effects of her concentrated force. This conjecture was soon realized. Twenty-one sail of the line, under admiral Cochrane, arrived in the Chesapeake, on the 16th of August. Another fleet from Bermuda, followed, under the command of admiral Malcolm. Accompanying these, were several thousand land troops, the flower of lord Wellington's army, under one of his most active officers, general Ross. Despatching to the Potomac two frigates, together with some rocket and bomb vessels, in charge of captain Gordon, for the purpose of demolishing Fort Washington; and a strong division of his fleet, with sir Peter Parker, to threaten Baltimore; admiral Cochrane sailed with the main body up the Patuxent. The troops were landed at Benedict, and, on the 21st of August, marched to Nottingham. Thence, they pursued their route to Upper Marlborough; where, they arrived at two o'clock in the afternoon of the following day. To this place, eighteen miles from Washington, commodore Barney, after a long continuance of gallant service in these waters, having retreated, some time before, he now, on the approach of his formidable antagonist, retired, to join the American army in his rear; leaving a party of marines: who, agreeably with his orders, accomplished the destruction of his flotilla.

General Ross had debarked thirty-five hundred men. The army destined to oppose him, was confided to general Winder; who had been recently exchanged. It amounted to fifteen thousand; of which number, about one-half were actually assembled, or approaching. Five hundred of these were infantry of the line; a hundred and fifty, regular dragoons: six hundred were seamen and marines; and the remainder, militia, of the states of Virginia and Maryland, and the District of Columbia.

Whilst the enemy were advancing, general Winder was collecting his forces at the Wood Yard, fourteen miles from Washington; falling back, when he had reached Upper Marlborough, to a place called the Old Fields: where, he encamped. At noon, on the ensuing day, he detached colonel Scott of the United States' thirty-sixth regiment, major Peter of the Georgetown artillery, and captains Davidson and Stull with their several corps, to reconnoitre

the enemy, and impede them on their march. About six miles from the American camp, they perceived the head of the British column, moving directly for the capital. A slight skirmish ensued, and the party returned to the main body. The enemy advanced, and, in the evening, halted within three miles of general Winder. The general again changed his position. To avoid a battle in the night, which would deprive him of his great superiority in cannon, (having above twenty pieces, and the British no more than three,) he marched, about sun-set, into Washington, and encamped near the bridge above the navy-yard. The enemy were seen from Bladensburg, about noon, on the 24th. General Stansbury had arrived there on the 22nd, with thirteen hundred men from Baltimore; followed by colonel Sterrett with three hundred artillery, commanded by captains Myers and Magruder, and a light battalion of riflemen, under major Pinkney: the whole, nearly exhausted, from the heat of the weather, and an insufficient supply of provisions; during a tantalizing march; in which, at one time, they were obliged to halt for orders, and at another, urged on with the greatest possible rapidity. General Stansbury took a position on the west side of the eastern branch of the Potomac; being on the north of the turnpike road which leads through Bladensburg to Washington. Between his infantry and the bridge, he stationed his artillery and riflemen; with which advanced party, the action now commenced. In the meantime, general Winder had arrived, and sanctioned the arrangement: then, riding back about half a mile from the bridge, he met his main body approaching, under general Smith of the Columbia militia. It was now too late, to make such a disposition of the whole, as might have been the most advantageous. Without halting more than twenty minutes after coming in full view of the American front line, the enemy moved in column at a quick pace, through Bladensburg, to the bridge. Their van, led by colonel Thornton, were, for a moment, checked; but, encouraged by their officers, they proceeded firmly to the charge, and forced their passage. General Ross, accompanied by admiral Cockburn, crossed with the main body; and, meeting no impediment, except from major Peter's artillery, continued steadily along the road. The Baltimore artillerists and riflemen, who formed the front line, broke, and retreated; when, pressing on Stansbury's infantry, who formed the second, they caused them to participate in the confusion, and, with the former,

to abandon the scene of action. Peter's guns continued to assail the invaders with a destructive fire: but they pushed forward undismayed. Smith's brigade was now on the point of engaging, when general Winder ordered a retreat. This was made in as correct a manner as the ground would permit. After falling back a few hundred yards, it was perfectly formed, and ready to oppose the enemy; but was again directed to retire. Immediately before this, commodore Barney, with his flotilla men, arrived; also captain Miller, with the marines. The commodore opened a most destructive fire upon the enemy's front; whilst Miller enfiladed their left flank. The first discharge from one of Barney's eighteen pounders, made extensive havoc, and literally cut an avenue through their column. They deliberated, for a moment, and then tried to deploy upon Miller's division. But they could not accomplish their design. They received so copious a discharge from his twelve pounders, doubly loaded with canister shot, and from his musketry, at the same time, that their leading platoons were thrown into confusion, and fell back upon the advancing column. At this moment, the enemy might be regarded as defeated. They would, probably, have surrendered, had the commodore's left been covered by a few resolute infantry; or, by as many marines as were on the right, commanded by such an officer as himself, or by another Miller. But this protection not being afforded, the opportunity was lost: general Ross succeeded in manœuvres, which, in that case, he would not even have attempted. His left pushed forward up the hill, in front of Beall's Maryland militia; who fled, without making the least resistance; the marines were charged in front, and simultaneously, on their flanks, by a division three times their number. Their commander was wounded, and, resigning them to captain Sevier, ordered them to retire. Barney's corps continued to make dreadful havoc, until nearly surrounded, and the British had even seized on their pieces: but, unable to effect any thing more, in that place, they joined the marines in their retreat. The commodore now lay bleeding on the ground, and, with captain Miller, fell into the hands of the enemy; both receiving from them, in consideration of their distinguished gallantry, every encomium and attention.

The marines and flotilla corps had expected to find, within a short distance, the army rallied and posted for a second contest. But, by general Winder's order, they had left the field. Mr. Madison, general Armstrong, colonel



Monroe, (afterwards president of the United States,) and the other chief officers of the government, were present on the commencement of the battle; but, in its progress they judged it prudent to retire. They intimated to general Winder the possibility of still defending the city; to which suggestion, he replied, that his army was dispersed, and broken down by fatigue. Thus, the fate of Washington was decided. General Ross, with a thousand men, slowly approached the city; where he arrived at eight o'clock in the evening; his horse being shot under him, by some imprudent person, who fired from a window. The rear came up afterwards, and encamped within sight of the capitol. The invaders then proceeded to burn this fine building; containing the senate-chamber and representative-hall, supreme court-room, congressional library, and public records. The treasury, war, and navy offices, shared in the conflagration. Every public building, except the general post-office, containing the models of ingenious patented inventions in the arts, was subjected to the same Vandalic torch; in retaliation, it was declared, for the burning of York and other places, in Canada. Immense damage was sustained, also, from the burning of the stores at the navy-yard, by American orders; to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

General Ross remained in Washington until eight o'clock on the evening of the 25th. He then began his return, over the same road by which he had advanced. His army retired in great disorder. It did not reach Bladensburg until the afternoon of the 26th, distant only five miles; nor Benedict until the evening of the 27th. It was in detachments; marched by different routes; was separated by intervals of many miles, and preceded by a drove of sixty or seventy head of cattle. No impediment, however, except by the country-people, was offered to this straggling enemy: though, it can hardly be doubted, that half the American troops, overcome by them at Bladensburg, might, if resolutely commanded, have retrieved their lost honour, in a vigorous pursuit. Several officers of rank, and about a hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and privates of the British army, whose wounds would not permit their removal, were left behind. Their loss, altogether, was very great. Four hundred were killed and wounded, besides five hundred more who were made prisoners, or deserted. This indicated, not so much a victory, as a defeat. The report from the vanquished army was the reverse: twelve killed, and about thirty wounded. It is only just,

however, to mention, that a court of inquiry, held in Baltimore, investigated the conduct of general Winder, and exonerated him from the charges which had been made, of insufficient alacrity.

Captain Gordon was, in the meantime, ascending the Potomac. On the 27th of August, two days after the evacuation of the capital by general Ross, he approached Fort Washington, situated on the east side of the river, about six miles below Alexandria: when, having commenced a distant fire, the officer intrusted with its defence, blew it up, in accordance with his instructions; and, without returning a single shot, retreated with his garrison. The consequence of this proceeding was the capture of the town. One hour, only, was allowed the corporation, to reply to the terms dictated by the English squadron. All public and private stores were, accordingly, surrendered: the vessels in the harbour, fully equipped by their respective owners; those sunk for its security, raised, and placed in sailing order; were delivered; and the merchandise, of every description, including that removed since the 19th of the month, embarked, by the inhabitants, on board the surrendered ships. Sixteen thousand barrels of flour, one thousand hogsheads of tobacco, besides a large amount of wine, sugar, and cotton, were thus lost to Alexandria.

The same good fortune did not attend captain Parker. Having landed with two hundred and fifty marines, in the neighbourhood of Moor's Fields, on the eastern shore of Maryland, he was opposed by colonel Reid with a hundred and seventy militia, supported by two pieces of artillery: by whom, after an obstinate contest, which lasted for an hour, he was repulsed: himself being mortally wounded, and thirteen of his party left dead upon the field.

There was only one opinion respecting the next grand object of attack. All anxiously awaited the fate of Baltimore. The unvaried hostile sentiments evinced towards the British government, by its inhabitants; the arrangements of the invading enemy; their recent victory at Bladensburg, and easy acquisition of the capital; induced most solicitous endeavours for its defence. Nor were the citizens of Baltimore, alone, affected by its dangerous situation. Philadelphia was moved by scarcely less fearful anticipation; and New York, still farther distant from the interesting scene, was equally industrious in guarding against an assault by land.

Large bodies of militia, from Pennsylvania and Virginia,

and the interior of Maryland, assembled in Baltimore. Commodore Rodgers, with his marines, took charge of the principal batteries on the high ground, situated on the eastern side of the town; the only point through which it was assailable by land: where, a ditch was hastily thrown up, and guarded by at least ten thousand men. One division of this force was confided to general Winder; another, to general Stricker; and the whole were under the command of general Samuel Smith; an officer distinguished in the revolutionary war, by his defence of Fort Mifflin. The approach to the city, by water, was defended by Fort M'Henry, (two miles from Baltimore,) garrisoned by one thousand men, under major Armistead; by large vessels sunk in the opposite channel; besides two temporary works, in the rear, superintended by lieutenants Newcomb and Webster.

On the 11th of September, admiral Cochrane appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, with a fleet, of ships of war and transports, amounting to fifty sail. The next morning at seven o'clock, general Ross, having landed five thousand troops near North Point, about eight miles from the city, immediately marched forward. General Stricker, who had been sent out to impede his progress, with a brigade of three thousand, commenced a vigorous series of skirmishing. The firing had not continued long before the British general was killed. The command devolved on colonel Brooke; who pushed towards the city, whilst the Americans gradually retired, until the evening; when, they rested within half a mile of their intrenchments. The enemy suffered heavily. Their loss in killed and wounded, was at least three hundred. The American loss was comparatively small: about a hundred and sixty. On the following morning, the British were seen at a distance of only two miles in front of the lines; and, shortly afterwards, they moved towards the right, as if desirous of entering by the York and Hartford roads: in which intention, having been frustrated by skilful manœuvres, they advanced within one mile, apparently with a design of assaulting the works, in front.

Meanwhile, Fort M'Henry was furiously assailed. At sun-rise, the British admiral, having brought sixteen ships within two miles and a half of this important defence, began the assault with five bomb vessels, still farther in advance. At this time, the fort remained entirely silent. The enemy were not within the range of the American guns



But, when they moved yet nearer, major Armistead opened a tremendous fire, which compelled them to resume their former position. When it became dark, they attempted to land some troops, by ascending the river towards Spring Garden. but, though they had passed the outer works, unnoticed, they were discovered by the smaller forts in the rear, and obliged to withdraw; after losing one of their barges, with all that were on board.

When colonel Brooke's movements showed a design of forcing the intrenchments, general Smith prudently stationed Winder and Stricker on the left, to assail the enemy on their right, and on their rear, if they seriously attempted the assault. This, perhaps, changed the intention of the British land troops: the admirable defence made by Fort M'Henry caused them to await the issue of the bombardment, and, at the same time, determined the marine to decline the contest. The capture of Baltimore was abandoned. In the course of the night, admiral Cochrane held a conference with colonel Brooke, the land forces retreated towards their boats, and, the next morning, returned on board their ships.\*

High praise is due to the defenders of Baltimore, particularly to those stationed at the fort. A bombardment, that, during twenty-five hours, had expended fifteen hundred shells, a large portion of which burst over their heads, and a great number within the works, scattering fragments in every direction, and seriously damaging several of the buildings, demanded considerable firmness; though the personal injury, the killed being only four, and the wounded twenty, was less than might have been imagined from its magnitude.

But it required the brilliant victory on lake Champlain, and the equally splendid defence of Plattsburg, to remove the unfavourable impression made on the negotiations in Europe, by the unfortunate surrender of the capital. Commodore M'Donough, by the defeat of the British squadron under captain Downie; and general Macomb, by the repulse of the army under sir George Prevost; (two achievements which occurred simultaneously, and at the same place, on the 11th of September;) have gained imperishable honour to themselves and their brave companions.

\* Admiral Cochrane is an uncle of the gallant naval officer and distinguished patriot, lord Cochrane; and a brother of the earl of Dundonald, a scientific nobleman of Scotland.

The American squadron on lake Champlain, consisted of fourteen vessels, carrying eighty-six guns and eight hundred and twenty-six men; the British, of seventeen vessels with ninety-five guns and one thousand and fifty men. Of these, one frigate, one brig, and two sloops, were captured, some were sunk and others escaped; eighty-four men were killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six made prisoners.—General Prevost, with several thousand men, endeavoured to cross the river Saranac in three several places, and storm the forts at Plattsburg, defended by an inconsiderable force, principally militia; but was repulsed in every attempt. The British army lost in killed and wounded, and by desertion, above two thousand; the American, in killed and wounded, a hundred and twenty-one.

It might rationally have been supposed, that the war would, before this period, have ceased. Sufficient evidence had been offered to the enemy, that no serious impression could be made on the United States. The pacification of Europe had withdrawn the immediate causes of dispute, and the American commissioners had been directed to allow the subject of impressment to remain unsettled. But the English government were not equally desirous of peace. They proposed, as an essential requisite to obtain this great blessing, a most insulting relinquishment;—no less than a surrender of a large portion of territory, and the total abandonment of the coast along the lakes.

Early in September, it became known, that the enemy were preparing to make a formidable invasion of Louisiana. Governor Claiborne ordered the two divisions of the militia of that state; the first, under general Villere, and the second, under general Thomas; to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning: and sent forth an animating address, calling on the inhabitants to rise, for the defence of their families and homes. But the majority of the planters, there, at least of French extraction, had felt little interest in the war: the militia, therefore, were scarcely organized, instead of being disciplined and armed. Nothing short of actual invasion could rouse them, in the country. In the city, the case was different. Every man, that could carry arms, had, in New Orleans, become a soldier. The free people of colour, too, a numerous class, were allowed the privilege of forming volunteer companies, and joining their white brethren in the momentous duty of protection.

But the chief safety of the inhabitants was in the nature of their country. It was exceedingly difficult of access, by sea. In front, was a shallow coast; and the principal entrance, a river; which, after crossing the bar, is narrow, deep, and rapid, and of a course so winding, as to render it easily susceptible of being fortified. On the west, are impassable swamps; and, on the east, the low, marshy coast, can be approached only through a shallow lake. Gun-boats, the most appropriate means of annoyance, had, notwithstanding, been neglected. As regarded men, arms, and military works, Louisiana was in a most defenceless situation: the legislature had been convened; but, instead of actively providing for the public safety, its time was wasted in discussion.

When danger suddenly approaches, the energetic mind of an individual may be of greater service, than the combined wisdom of a senate. The formalities of law are ill suited to expel an enemy, when at our very doors. Happily for New Orleans, the commander of the district, general Jackson, arrived there, on the 2nd of December, from Mobile; to which place, he had returned, after performing an important military service at Pensacola, and, at an earlier period of the war, rendering himself conspicuous, by the almost total annihilation of the Creek Indians. His presence was instantly felt, in the confidence which it inspired, and in the unanimity with which the people seconded his prompt arrangements. He visited, according to his invariable custom, every point where it might be necessary to erect works to oppose the enemy. He directed that all the inlets from the Attakappas to the Manchack, should be obstructed; that the banks of the Mississippi should be fortified, and a battery erected on the Chef Morteur. He stationed about a thousand regulars in the city; which troops, together with the Tennessee militia, under generals Coffee and Carroll, he distributed at the most vulnerable points.

Three days had not elapsed, after the arrival of general Jackson, when intelligence was received, that the British fleet, consisting of at least sixty sail, was off the coast, to the east of the Mississippi. Commodore Patterson immediately despatched some gun-boats, to watch their motions; but, on the 14th, this little squadron was captured by a superior force; not, however, without having made a spirited resistance. This misfortune enabled the enemy to choose their place of landing, and, at the same time, prevented



the Americans from gaining information. But the general neglected no means of guarding the several land-passes. He stationed troops below the town, at every place where an entry was considered practicable; and, to cause the utmost vigour in every department, immediately proclaimed martial law.

All the principal bayous or inlets, communicating with lake Ponchartrain, as well as the narrow strip of land on the border of the Mississippi, had been secured. There was, however, a communication with lake Borgne, called the Bayou Bienvenu, little known, and used only by fishermen, its head near the plantation of general Villere, seven miles below the city. Guided by some traitors, the enemy, on the 22d, came suddenly on the American guard, through that secret passage, and made them prisoners; one of their divisions, under general Keane, at four o'clock in the morning, reached the commencement of Villere's canal, having disembarked and rested a few hours, proceeded through the cane-brake, and, at two in the afternoon, arrived on the bank of the river. The alarm being given, general Jackson resolved immediately to attack him. In four hours, the American corps were united on Rodrigues' canal, six miles below the city. The whole did not then exceed two thousand. The British force, at this time, amounted to three thousand; but, convinced that the most arduous part of the enterprise was achieved, instead of marching directly towards the city, they had encamped, and were preparing their evening repast. They were soon made sensible of their error. Never were any troops more suddenly disturbed. The first intimation of the Americans' approach, was a raking broadside from commodore Patterson's schooner, the *Caroline*; the fires enabling him to take deliberate aim. Coffee's division impetuously rushed upon their right, whilst Jackson's, with equal rapidity, advanced against their front. Though surprised, and several hundreds killed and wounded, they were not yet defeated: extinguishing their fires, they came boldly forward into action. The fighting, however, soon afterwards ceased. A thick fog having produced some confusion in the American troops, Jackson prudently called them off, lay on the field until morning, and then took a position on the other side of the canal. His loss was twenty-four killed, and about two hundred wounded and prisoners: that of the British, about four hundred.

The American general lost no time in fortifying his post. This was effected by a simple breast-work, from the river

to the swamp, with a ditch in front; cotton bales, of a square form, being used, as the cheeks of the embrasures. Meanwhile, the enemy having blown up the Caroline, which was previously abandoned by her crew, their commander in chief, sir Edward Packenham, landed the main body of his army; on the 28th, advanced up the levee, with the intention of driving Jackson from his intrenchments, and, at the distance of half a mile, began the attack on the unfinished works, with Congreve rockets and a heavy cannonade. But they were a second time repulsed. A fresh American schooner having been brought up, caused great havoc amongst their columns: the fire from the batteries was not less destructive; and, after an obstinate struggle of seven hours, the British general retired. The Americans at this time, lost fifteen in killed and wounded; the enemy, considerably more.

1815 On the 1st of January, the invaders made another attempt to force general Jackson's fortifications. They had, in the night, erected a battery, and, early in the morning, opened a brisk cannonade; making, at the same time, two bold efforts to turn his left wing: but they were a third time repulsed, with the loss of about seventy men.

On the 4th, general Jackson received an increase of twenty-five hundred militia, from Kentucky, under generals Thomas and Adair; and on the 6th, the British were re-enforced by the arrival of general Lambert. Their whole number was now fourteen thousand. General Jackson commanded about six thousand. An interesting moment was approaching. Serious preparations were commenced, for storming the American works, now strengthened by additional batteries, and by additional small arms. The lines, on the right bank, were intrusted to general Morgan; with the Louisiana, and detachments of New Orleans and Kentucky, militia. The works on the left bank, covering the main body, were occupied by general Jackson himself; with the Tennessee forces, under generals Coffee and Carroll; also, a part of the Kentucky and New Orleans militia; the seventh and forty-fourth regiments of United States' infantry; with corps of active sailors and marines. Here, the intrenchments extended about a thousand yards, between the river and the swamp: strengthened, on the flanks, by batteries; and, in front, by a wet ditch, having about four feet depth of water.

Early in the morning of the 8th of January, the British

columns moved forward, at the same time, against the right and left of the American batteries. They approached with a determined countenance, with their muskets shouldered, accompanied by detachments carrying fascines and ladders. The former were designed to fill up the ditches in front; and with the latter they intended to mount the ramparts. The American artillery opened a tremendous fire, at the distance of nine hundred yards, and mowed them down with terrible slaughter. But they still moved on with a firm step; invariably supplying the place of the fallen, with fresh troops. At length, they came within reach of the American small-arms. The whole of Jackson's line was now enveloped in flames. The cannon thundered from every battery: the rifles were leveled with deadly aim; grape-shot and shells were scattered as thick as hail-stones, over the plain. The enemy's columns faltered, but were, in a moment, pressed forward by their officers. But all their efforts succeeded only in leading their veteran soldiers to destruction: the men shrunk from a contest, in which they saw nothing but immediate slaughter. The columns broke, and retreated in confusion. A few pushed boldly forward; dropping half their men in the desperate adventure. Some of the head platoons, led by colonel Renee, leaped the ditch, and clambered up the rampart: but, scarcely had they reached the parapet, and raised a shout, when the whole, with a single exception, were brought down, and their dead bodies tumbled into the ditch. The repulse was now universal. A second effort was notwithstanding tried. Collecting all their courage, and animated by rage and disappointment, the invaders made another furious assault. But it was with the same result: every exertion to reach the intrenchments was ineffectual.

On the right bank, however, the enemy had gained the advantage. By some unaccountable misconduct of the troops, who had, on other occasions, displayed great intrepidity, a detachment, conducted across the river in boats, by colonel Thornton, obtained possession of the batteries. But, as soon as the fate of his companions, on the left bank, was known, the conquest was abandoned.

The loss of the British army, on this memorable day, was seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred captured. That of the Americans, on the left bank of the Mississippi, was no more than six killed, and nine wounded: on both banks, it was thirteen killed, thirty-nine wounded, and nineteen missing. The invaders had to re-



gret the death of many experienced and gallant officers. General Packenham, a brother-in-law of lord Wellington, fell early in the engagement. Generals Keane and Gibbs, who, as well as Packenham, had distinguished themselves against the French in Spain, were dangerously wounded. Keane survived only a few days; the command having, in the interim, devolved on general Lambert.

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## CHAPTER XII.

### PEACE OF GHENT.

#### *Banks. The Army and Navy.*

THE splendid preservation of New Orleans is the last military subject, material for us to notice. The defeat of the British before Plattsburg, having given a new turn to the negotiation, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, in the preceding year, 1814, ratified by the prince regent of England on the 28th, and by the president of the United States, with the approbation of the senate, on the last day of February, 1815. Both nations agreed to restore their respective conquests, to appoint commissioners for settling disputed boundaries, and pledged themselves to use their utmost endeavours towards the entire abolition of the slave trade. No allusion was made to the causes of the war. Security against their recurrence, rests, however, on a much firmer basis than the provisions of the most solemn treaty. Britain has been taught to appreciate the strength of the republic. She will read, in the history of the late struggle, the most convincing arguments against the invasion of neutral rights.

Hostilities had continued two years and eight months; but, for the purpose of distinction, the contest will be known as the Three Years' War. It increased the public debt a hundred millions of dollars, and made the whole arrears about a hundred and fifty millions; a sum that can, in a few years, be discharged, by the ordinary revenue. But the germ of a lasting evil was created, in the nearly universal failure of the banks. So largely, had they speculated in

the national funds, (except the banks of the eastern states, which were restrained by prudence, and aversion to the war,) that, in the autumn of 1814, not a single institution, south of New England, could redeem its notes. The western states felt a similar embarrassment. The national bank had ceased to exist, on the expiration of its charter. The notes of all that were not able to pay their engagements in metallic coin, depreciated from twenty to thirty per cent. Mercantile failures were alarming. The fiscal operations of the government were almost suspended. Opportunities of fraud were every day increasing. Designing individuals who possessed not any capital, nor any credit, unless at a distance from their habitations, spread innumerable banks throughout the country, got into their hands immense sums of money, by discounting promissory notes, and employing agents for the circulation of their paper; and, sanctioned by the situation of the more respectable establishments, amassed fortunes, by the issuing of bills, upon which they allowed no interest against themselves, whilst they were charging the accustomed interest to others. Patriotism can not be adduced to extenuate the injury done by those enormous subscriptions to the public loans. Except the magnanimous aid given to the old congress, by the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, history furnishes no evidence of disinterested assistance, on the part of any body, formed, as are all similar companies, upon the narrow basis of private benefit.

The peace establishment of the regular army was fixed at ten thousand men. The militia, however, assembles monthly, and includes, with a few exceptions, every citizen of vigorous age. The naval power, as regarded the larger vessels, was not diminished; but, on the contrary, was allowed gradually to augment. On the Atlantic service, there were now afloat, one ship of seventy-four guns, seven frigates, nine sloops of war, and fourteen schooners: on the lakes, were twenty-nine vessels, carrying three hundred and sixty guns; making the whole naval force, including gunboats, two hundred and seventy-four vessels, with fifteen hundred guns.

In 1791, the national mint was established at Philadelphia; in 1798, the navy department at Washington; and, in 1802, the military academy at West Point on the same principles as the polytechnic school at Paris

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CESSION OF FLORIDA.

*Commercial Treaty with England. Re-establishment of a National Bank. Indiana. Mississippi. Illinois. Alabama. Maine. Missouri. Florida ceded by Spain. Progress of the Arts and of Literature; of Population and Emancipation.*

THE amicable relations with Great Britain, which had been restored by the treaty of Ghent, were soon afterwards drawn closer by a treaty of commerce. This convention, negotiated at London by Messrs. Adams, Clay, and Gallatin, and concluded by them on the third of July, stipulates, that the duties charged on merchandise and tonnage shall be reciprocally the same, in both nations; whether the vessels entering their respective ports be of Great Britain or the United States; and, that the vessels of the latter shall be allowed, under certain limitations, to trade with the principal British settlements in the East Indies. But, a similar privilege was not extended by England with regard to her colonies in the West Indies and on the continent of North America. Her navigation laws, made in the reign of Charles the second, were, in respect to these, with the exception of Bermuda, Halifax, and St. John's, most rigorously maintained; and, consequently, the United States, judging it expedient to enact a countervailing regulation, afterwards excluded from their ports all vessels sailing from the American colonies of England.

1816 But those pacific conventions did not lessen the propriety of augmenting the national defence. Peace is the most advantageous time for preparing the means of war. Congress resolved that the navy should be still farther increased; and, for this purpose, voted an annual appropriation of one million of dollars, during eight years, and authorized the president to have built, independent of vessels of a smaller size, nine ships of the line, twelve frigates, and three floating batteries; the latter to be propelled by steam.

The return of peace had not yet restored the currency of metallic coin. The banks continued to inundate the country with paper money. Except in Massachusetts, all these



institutions had now ceased to pay their notes in gold or silver. Speculators were still lavishly supplied by new issues, and no termination appeared of the vexatious embarrassments arising from these fertile sources of national evil. In the absence of an adequate amount of specie, to meet the public claims, and create a respectable circulation, as well as a test of their solidity, the re-establishment of a national bank, which had ceased, by the expiration of its charter, in 1810, was thought to be the most speedy cure. It was, therefore, enacted, after a most strenuous opposition, that a bank should be organized, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars, to continue twenty-one years from the first of July. Its labours to attain these ends, were, in the beginning, highly beneficial. A day was fixed, on which should be resumed a simultaneous payment of notes, in coin. All banking companies, that did not, accordingly, redeem their promises, were known to be insolvent; a salutary check was thus placed on the immoderate circulation of their notes, and commercial adventure confined by the prudent employment of only a sufficient capital. But, the general management of this great monied corporation was most reprehensible. Its first salutary influence was counterbalanced by its succeeding conduct. Extravagant sums were advanced, in the way of discounts, on the security of its own hypothecated stock; shares of which, originally obtained for a hundred dollars, were thus inflated to a hundred and sixty, but afterwards, on the exposure of this immoral scheme, they declined to eighty. Several millions were, in consequence, lost by the institution, and many individuals were rendered pennyless. Congress was not inattentive to this perversion, which, instead of relief, had diffused ruin, throughout the country. Its president was removed, and in his place was appointed Mr. Cheves, formerly speaker of the house of representatives, and, more recently, one of the judges of South Carolina; under whose able and impartial direction, the capital of the bank having been gradually restored, its stock has again risen above par.

The next subject that engrossed the attention of congress, was a revision of the duties on goods imported. In forming the new tariff, a judicious attention was given to protect domestic manufactures, without, at the same time, injuring the national revenue, or lessening, by over-indulgence, the industry and economy requisite to their full success. The double war imposts were, with few exceptions,

reduced; but, a large increase was made to the duties on some fabrics, particularly cotton cloths, of a coarse description, especially when imported from the East Indies; where, these articles are manufactured by persons contented with daily wages not exceeding a few cents, and from a material not grown in the United States.

1817 Mr. Madison having filled the office of president a second period of four years, and, in conformity with the example of his several predecessors, not having, a third time, offered himself as a candidate for that honourable station, was succeeded by James Monroe; the vice presidential chair being assigned to Daniel D. Tompkins of New York.

Mr. Monroe, who enjoys the rare happiness of promoting the esteem, and combining in his favour the suffrages, of all parties, is, as were all the presidents, except Mr. Adams, a native of Virginia. At the early age of seventeen, he was dangerously wounded in the battle of Trenton, was soon afterwards appointed aid-de-camp to lord Stirling, and subsequently colonel of a regiment. In 1782, he was intrusted with a seat in the legislature of his native state, in the following year he was a representative in congress, and in 1790 a senator of the United States. Soon after the formation of the French republic, he was deputed, by general Washington, as an ambassador to Paris; and, at another time, by Mr. Jefferson, to negotiate, with the consulate of France, the purchase of Louisiana. In 1803, he was appointed minister to London, and, two years afterwards, was sent on a special mission to Madrid. On his return, he was elected governor of Virginia; in the following year, was appointed secretary of state; and, after the capture of the city of Washington, he consented to undertake the arduous duties of secretary of war.

1819 In the winter of this year, the country was deprived of the services of commodore Perry; who fell a victim to the climate of Trinidad: and, in the following spring, Decatur was killed in a duel, near Washington, by commodore Barron.

Since the termination of the war, by the peace of Ghent, the foreign and domestic trade of the United States, continued to be variable and unprofitable. Merchandise and shipping, as well as landed estates, which, in the first two years of peace, had risen to an almost unprecedented degree, did not long maintain their value. The channels of

consumption in America, became gradually supplied and overfilled. The use of her grain, in Europe, had almost ceased. The universal peace allowed the ships of every nation to be its own carriers, and its own citizens to be again its merchants. The flag of the United States, (as it had been before their rupture with England) was no longer the agent in trading between the various belligerents, nor were their sea-ports the general entrepôts of the world. The terms of freight rapidly declined, vessels rotted in the American ports, ware-houses groaned under the stagnant pressure of accumulating merchandise. Internal traffic was not sufficient to employ the numerous individuals, compelled to seek, at home, a field of enterprise, now closed to them abroad. Competition, throughout the Union, became excessive. Houses and lands were advanced to double, and in many places, to treble, their former prices. Bank-loans had created a superabundance of paper-money, and furnished unlimited means of speculation and of sumptuous living. But the crisis at length arrived. After the re-establishment of the national bank, the redemption of that easily acquired money was no longer optional, but compulsory. Loans were, henceforth, given with caution, payment was demanded of those already issued, property was hurried into the market to answer this sudden call, and estate of all kinds declined to its former price. This, is a brief exhibition of the disasters produced by the transition from a warlike to a pacific condition, and which may be expected in changing also from peace to war. Let us, however, pray fervently for *peace*; and seek comfort by the slow but faithful aid of industry and economy, rather than splendour by the rapid career of deceitful speculation.

The public revenue could not escape being impaired by these multifarious embarrassments. It became inadequate to the expenditure, lately increased by a support given to the revolutionary soldiers. By an act of congress, in 1818, a yearly pension, sufficient for their decent maintenance, having been granted to those officers and privates who had served three successive years, more than thirty thousand of that venerable army made application for relief. Several millions were annually required to satisfy their claims. Money was, in consequence, obtained by loans, and other public expenses were curtailed. The military was reduced  
1821 in number, and the building of ships of war, in some degree, suspended. The army now consists of six



thousand men; the navy, fit for service, of eight vessels of the line, seven frigates, seven sloops or corvettes, and ten brigs and schooners.

Since the admission of Louisiana, in 1812, six other states have been received into the Union,—Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri. The original members of the federal government were thirteen: they are now twenty-four. Indiana was admitted in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, and Illinois in 1818; Alabama in 1819, Maine and Missouri\* (the latter conditionally) in 1820. Indiana and Illinois are sections of the same territory from which Ohio was made a state: Mississippi and Alabama belonged to Georgia; Maine was separated from Massachusetts, and Missouri from the vast tract ceded by the French, under the name of Louisiana. Slavery is forbidden, by a law of congress, to exist in Indiana and Illinois, and had long ceased in Maine, as a district of Massachusetts.

A negotiation, commenced with Spain, for the remainder of that portion of her territory, named Florida, which had been interrupted by the temporary overthrow of the old Spanish dynasty by Napoleon, was, on the return of Ferdinand the seventh to Madrid, renewed. That region was, at length, assigned to the United States. A treaty was concluded at Washington, on the twenty-second of February, 1819; which, after many vexatious delays on the part of Spain, was ratified by Ferdinand on the twenty-fourth of October, in the succeeding year, approved by the senate of the United States on the nineteenth, and by the president, on the twenty-second of February, 1821. Five millions of dollars were named as the price of Florida. This sum is not, however, to be paid to Spain. It is to be apportioned amongst those American citizens, whose property was illegally seized in Spanish ports, when under the uncontrollable influence of France. Florida, though desirable as an extensive field of profitable agriculture, is more important, as placing the southern boundary of the United States on the Gulf of Mexico; and, consequently, removing the disagreeable jealousies, which had frequently irritated the feelings of the two nations, caused by the occupation of Amelia Island and other places, by disorderly troops,

\* The legislature of Missouri, having signified its concurrence with the act of congress, restricting it from preventing the residence of free persons of colour, it was formally declared a state, by a proclamation of the president, on the tenth of August, 1821.

under ill-judged commissions from the South American republics; as well as by the inroads of the Seminole and other nations, when stimulated either by their own chiefs, or foreign white people who had visited them for trade:—and the treaty designates the boundary on the side of Mexico, (as delineated in the map of the United States, by Melish,) which had been undefined in the cession of Louisiana.

Literature and science; the arts, useful and ornamental; are every year extending in the United States. No country has more liberally provided for seminaries of learning, as respects the rudimental instruction of the labouring classes; and few governments have devoted more attention to the studies of the accomplished scholar, than the different legislatures of this great republic. Useful education is very generally attained. Works of polite literature, as well as of scientific subjects, are much esteemed, by all who claim association with genteel society; and writings of domestic origin evince, that there continues to be a large fund of native talent in the United States. Many of those have been already noticed. Dr. Morse has laid the foundation of a geographical dictionary. The Notes on Virginia show, that Jefferson, when treating on geological subjects, has mingled a little scepticism with much strong philosophical argument. Ramsay's history of the Revolution is written with sufficient dignity and elegance, and with as rigid impartiality as any narrative that ever issued from an honest pen: his biography of Washington, though an abridgment, in comparison with the life by Marshall, should be translated into every language, and placed, at an early age, in the hands of every youth. There is another history of the revolutionary period, from the accomplished hand of Mrs. Warren. Dwight was a voluminous writer on theology, and courted the favour of the poetic muse. His version of the Psalms is approved by several respectable congregations, but his conquest of Canaan is little read. He has the ear, without the imagination, of a poet. This production is the out-pouring of a mind, encumbered and overwhelmed by the accumulated lines of other writers. It displays no novelty of thought, nor variety of style. One who is familiar with only a small number of poems, can not easily persuade himself that the Canaan is a new work. The antithetic and condensed structure of Pope, and the flowing melody of Goldsmith, are pleasing, when accompanied by a teeming richness of fancy; but the monotonous imitations

by Dwight, are insupportably fatiguing.\* In the *Vision of Columbus*, or *Columbiad*, of Joel Barlow, the language is smooth and stately; the allusions are judicious, the similies mostly well drawn, and appropriate. It is, altogether, a respectable performance, and superior to the *Canaan*. But dignity, softness, and general propriety, are its whole merits. Those bold, happy efforts, of the imagination, which interest and delight us, equally by their novelty and ingenuity, are seldom found in the *Columbiad*. The structure of the *Iliad*; its manner, similies, and figures, as copied or varied in the *Æneid*, and reflected in the fine translations of the former by Pope and Cowper, and of the latter, by Pitt and Dryden; incessantly recur. M'Fingall, a Hudibrastic satire by Trumbull, exhibits more invention than either of the preceding. Charles Thomson has translated the Bible from the Septuagint. John Quincy Adams has published his brilliant course of rhetorical lectures. The "*British Spy*" of Wirt, decidedly claims a place amongst the American classics. *Salmagundi*, the combined effusions of Irving, Paulding, and Verplanck, is an admirable fund of humour, and contains some beautiful specimens of poetry. The semi-historical volumes, entitled *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, by Irving, give a most humorous caricature of real events. Paulding's allegorical history, bearing the title of *John Bull and Brother Jonathan*, will not appear the less entertaining, when compared with the happiest effort of Swift, in the same difficult line of political satire. The last three authors possess fine talents for the comic drama. Brackenridge writes with energy and clearness.

\* "Give me the line that ploughs its stately course,  
Like a proud swan, conquering the stream by force;  
That, like some cottage beauty, strikes the heart,  
Quite unindebted to the tricks of art.  
When labour and when dullness, club in hand,  
Like the two figures at St. Dunstan's, stand,  
Beating alternately, in measured rhyme,  
Exact and regular the sounds will be,  
But such mere quarter-strokes are not for me."

*Cowper's Table Talk.*

Speaking of Pope, Cowper says;—

"But he, (his musical finesse was such),  
So nice his ear, so delicate his touch,  
Made poetry a mere mechanic art,  
And every warbler has his tune by heart."



Carey's style is bold, familiar, and impressive. His typographical emphases, for which he is remarkable, are not very complimentary to his readers; and perhaps, by the majority, are not required: however, where prejudice exists, or a clear mental perception is wanting, the ocular aid afforded in his valuable Olive Branch, is not only pardonable, but useful.

Architecture, except in a few buildings at New York and Philadelphia, and the capitol and president's house at Washington, has not yet appeared in classical elegance or grandeur; but, in private dwellings, there is shown a neatness, durability, and elegance of workmanship, not surpassed in the finest cities of the old world. Useful inventions are encouraged by the legislature, and the fertility of American genius is commensurate with the protection. It is not a just criterion of ingenuity, that, in twenty-four years, two thousand general patents were obtained, to secure the inventors' rights: a considerable number of these improvements are of European growth, and many American theories are proved illusive by the hand of practice; but the inventive faculty in the United States is demonstrated by various exhibitions of mechanical economy. Whittimore's engine for making wool and cotton cards, is a wonderful display of mental faculty; and the machinery for cutting nails, the invention, we believe, of Briggs, embraces, in its successive improvements, an interesting variety of labour-saving modifications. The accomplishment of an effective steam-boat, is an epoch in human progress. Fulton is entitled to the same degree of merit, for his successful adaption of the power of steam to navigation, that is due to Watt, of Great Britain, for his improvement in the steam-engine. A century had elapsed, from the time when the first hint of this engine was given by the marquis of Worcester, to its consummation by the philosophic Watt; and nearly as long an interval, from the first experiment on the steam-boat, by Jonathan Hulls, of London, to its completion by Robert Fulton. Hulls obtained a patent for his invention, from George the second, in the year 1737; Fitch propelled a boat, by the same principle, on the Delaware, in 1783: Miller, of Scotland, constructed a double boat, with a wheel in the centre, with which, he made a passage to and from Sweden, in 1789: and, finally, after various trials, by different persons, on the Thames and on the Seine, Fulton rendered the plan susceptible of little farther improvement, in 1807. The Clermont was then driven on the Hudson, at the rate of five

miles an hour; and, subsequently, all the great rivers of the United States have been navigated, by similar vessels, fully twice the distance in the same space of time. In the summer of 1819, the Atlantic was crossed, for the first time, by a steam-boat. A vessel driven by steam, with the occasional aid of sails, was despatched by some enterprising merchants of Savannah, to St. Petersburg, and made her passage home in fifty days. Fulton, celebrated also for his submarine explosions, was born in Little Britain, Pennsylvania, and educated in the town of Lancaster; whence, having removed to Philadelphia, he attended, for a short time, the business of a jeweller, and acquired, in his leisure hours, considerable proficiency in the art of painting. He lived many years in England, under the patronage of the American West; and, becoming known to his countryman, Rumsey, the duke of Bridgewater, lord Stanhope, and many other opulent promoters of the arts, attended, thenceforward, chiefly his favourite inclination towards the formation of canals. Paris was the next theatre of his enterprise; where he remained, for several years, the companion of the American minister, Joel Barlow, and the inmate of his house. He returned to his native country, in 1806; and died, when little above the middle age, by inflammation of the lungs, in 1815, at New York.

The neutrality, so long maintained by the American republic, offered an asylum to many distinguished Europeans. The visit of Moore, the lyric poet, was one of pleasure. But Talleyrand, the great political Proteus, resided several years in the United States, to avoid the proscriptions of his own country; a son of the marquis la Fayette, Chateaubriand, Volney, general Moreau, Joseph and Jerome Buonaparte; Dr. Priestley, the celebrated philosopher and polemical divine; also Thomas Paine; sought refuge in different places of the Union. Dr. Priestley died in Pennsylvania; Thomas Paine, in New York. Jerome Buonaparte was unworthy of protection. His conduct, in deserting, by his brother Napoleon's mandate, the daughter of a respectable citizen of Baltimore, whom he had married, and afterwards placing on his throne a princess of Napoleon's choice, will always be remembered with detestation. Her disappointment, and his own reverse, remind us, when impelled by inordinate ambition, that happiness cannot be secured by exalted rank, nor a throne by the power of armies.

In the year 1820, the fourth census of the inhabitants was recorded. In 1790, the population was three millions

nine hundred and twenty-one thousand; in 1800, five millions three hundred and twenty thousand; in 1810, seven millions two hundred and forty thousand; in 1820, nine millions six hundred and thirty-eight thousand. At the last of these periods, the inhabitants of Boston numbered forty-two thousand; of Providence, twelve; New York, one hundred and twenty; Philadelphia, one hundred and fifteen; Pittsburg, seven thousand; Baltimore, sixty-two; Washington, thirteen; Norfolk, eight; Richmond, twelve; Charleston, twenty-five; Savannah, seven; New Orleans, twenty-seven thousand. The Indians within the federal jurisdiction, are not included in the census. In 1790, six hundred and ninety-eight thousand were slaves; in 1800, eight hundred and ninety-seven thousand; in 1810, one million one hundred and ninety-one thousand; in 1820, one million five hundred and thirty thousand. In those which are denominated slave-holding states, the largest proportion appeared, then, in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia; Mississippi, Virginia, and Alabama; North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri; descending, in comparative amount, from South Carolina, where fifty-one out of every hundred of the entire population were in bondage, to Missouri, in which were fifteen in every hundred. Delaware and New Jersey possessed a considerable number of slaves: the latter, comparatively the smallest. The number in New York was proportionably less than in New Jersey: Rhode Island had only forty-eight; Connecticut, proportionably fewer; Pennsylvania, fewer still; Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, none.

Since the middle of the last century, expanded minds have been, with slow gradations, promoting the decrease of slavery in North America. The progress of truth is slow; but it will, in the end, prevail. The first voice raised against this uncharitable practice, was by a Quaker, the amiable and enlightened John Woolman, of Mount Holly, in New Jersey. He wrote his sentiments on that subject in the year 1746; strenuously recommended its abolition, at the several stated meetings of his society; and, in 1754, published his "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes;" a work admirable for its dispassionate and lucid style of argument; highly beneficial in his own time, and deserving most serious attention at the present. Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia, though his writings were subsequent to Woolman's, has acquired a yet higher rank among philanthropists. His labours, in the same field, were singularly



active, and conspicuously successful. St. George Tucker, of Virginia, also, wrote an able dissertation against slavery. A duty on the importation of slaves was laid by New York, in 1753; by Pennsylvania, in 1762; and by New Jersey, in 1769. Virginia, the first state concerned in their introduction, was also the first that set an example of their exclusion; having, in the year 1778, amidst the perplexing scenes of civil warfare, passed an act to discontinue their entry into her ports. In 1780, Pennsylvania made a law for the gradual abolition of slavery; a law, which, although it did not allow all the natural rights declared in her constitution, has the merit of being the earliest legislative proceeding of the kind, in any nation; and, soon afterwards, there was instituted in the same state, a society "for promoting the abolition of slavery, for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race." All the states, north and east of Maryland, have since made laws for their gradual emancipation. On the adoption of the federal government, congress was authorized to prohibit, at the end of twenty years, the importation of negroes, into any part of the United States; and, accordingly, no arrivals have legally occurred since 1807. In 1820, a society for colonizing free people of colour, began a settlement at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa. A heavy grievance, however, is yet to be removed. Virginia, as well as every other American republic that still sanctions domestic bondage, will, we confidently anticipate, at no distant period, make arrangements, to unloosen, by degrees, the fetters, which are no less alarming to the master, than galling to the slave. Let us not only declare by words, but demonstrate by our actions, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that, amongst these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Let us venerate the instruction of that great and amiable man, to whom, chiefly, under Providence, the United States are indebted for their liberties; the world, for a common home: "That there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage."

[After the third edition of this history had been published, the Author was favoured with the following letter, from the distinguished philanthropist, Mr. ROBERTS VAUX:]-

*Philadelphia*, 8mo. 18, 1824.

TO WILLIAM GRIMSHAW, ESQ.

RESPECTED FRIEND—Yesterday, on looking over for the first time, thy “*History of the United States, &c.*” I was struck with an error, or rather an omission in point of fact, in regard to the original promulgation of sentiments which led to the abolition of negro slavery in Pennsylvania. In page 300, of the third edition, of thy *History of the United States*, a very just notice of the amiable and excellent John Woolman, and the equally beneficent Anthony Benezet, is to be found; but, for the fidelity of history, it is due, to say, that these valuable men were by no means the *first* to awaken reflection, upon this important subject. As early as 1698, a settlement of Friends, (or Quakers) near Germantown, expressed their opinion of the unrighteousness of human bondage, and conveyed that opinion to the yearly meeting of Friends, soliciting its attention specially to the consideration of the practice. In 1718, *Benjamin Lay* publicly protested against the inhuman custom, and was aided in the same cause by *Ralph Sandiford*. For a more particular account of the labours of these benevolent individuals, I would refer thee to *Memoirs of their Lives*, which I prepared, and had published a few years since. Thy useful work will no doubt be generally read in our country, and from its character seems to be well adapted for schools; it is important, therefore, to give it every possible degree of authenticity; and to this end I would call thy attention to a correction of the part alluded to, in a future edition.

Very respectfully,  
ROBERTS VAUX.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*General Jackson appointed governor of Florida. Independence of the South American Republics acknowledged. Piracies suppressed by the American squadron. Loss of the Hornet.*

IN pursuance of an act passed at the termination of the session of congress in 1821, providing for the temporary government of Florida, according to the laws then existing in that province, and authorizing the president to take possession; on the seventh of March, he appointed general Jackson governor of the territory, and invested him with the powers formerly exercised by the Spanish governors. Elijeus Fromentin was appointed chief-justice. The Spanish authorities reluctantly yielded their respective commands, on the twenty-second of August, the last day allowed by the treaty for that purpose; manifesting a disposition to embarrass, as much as they possibly could, the operations of the new government.

1822. In the spring of this year, the independence of the South American republics, and also of the state of Mexico, was recognized by congress, and an appropriation made to defray the expenses of establishing with them a diplomatic intercourse. This recognition was not without a beneficial influence upon the European powers. Slowly and cautiously following the example of the United States, Great Britain, in the year 1824, recognized the republics of South America, as independent nations. Six years have elapsed since the last hostile banner of Spain has been furled in the southern republics; yet still their governments are unsettled, and there exists internal discord, attended with the effusion of human blood.\*

Desperate gangs of pirates, of various nations, and of all colours, infested the American seas, from the year 1818, to 1823, to so great an extent, as to render the navigation extremely perilous; their robberies being often accompanied with the most cool-blooded and barbarous murder. Their principal haunts were on the northern coast of Cuba, from one-hundred to two-hundred miles distant from Havana. There, they found a region uninhabited, beyond the operations of the Spanish authorities, indented with numerous narrow inlets, affording secure places of retreat for their small

\* A. D. 1830.



vessels, and inaccessible to ships of any considerable size. The pirates had their agents at Havana and Matanzas, to give them notice of the sailing of merchant vessels from those ports; and any that ventured to sail without convoy, almost invariably became their prey.

To protect their commerce in those seas, the measure first pursued by the government of the United States, was to station there the Congress frigate and eight small vessels. This force, in the year preceding November, 1822, captured and destroyed more than twenty piratical vessels on the coast of Cuba; but it did not fully effectuate the purpose, not being provided with the means of following them into their recesses, and breaking up their haunts. The proper species of vessels, was, however, at length supplied. In December, congress made provision for an armament, to consist of light vessels and boats, calculated to pursue the pirates into their retreats; and accordingly, an additional force, consisting of the Peacock sloop of war, a steam galliot, and ten small vessels, carrying three or four guns each, was despatched to the West India seas, and, with the fleet then on that station, placed under the command of Commodore Porter.

1823. The armament sailed in the ensuing February, for St. Thomas, the place of their first rendezvous; and having been divided into four squadrons, it was sent to reconnoitre the northern coasts of Cuba and St. Domingo.

High praise is due to the officers and seamen employed in that expedition. Scarcely ever was there undertaken a more harassing service. A long and continued exposure to a tropical sun by day, and deadly chills and damps by night, threatened the lives of the little bands, who were seeking, in open boats, and vessels of the smallest size, the haunts of the freebooters amongst the rocks and shoals of the uninhabited coasts of Cuba and St. Domingo. It was performed, however, with so remarkable zeal and success, that, at the end of sixty days from the commencement of his operations, the commodore, in his official despatches to the secretary of the navy, was enabled to say, that there was not a pirate afloat in the region of Matanzas, the scene of their greatest depredations, larger than an open boat; and that not a single piratical act had been committed on the coast of Cuba, since he had organized and arranged his forces.

1824. It is with regret, that we have now to record an affair, which involved the gallant commander of the American squadron in difficulties, the most serious, as re-

garded his own standing in the navy, and might have produced consequences still more unfortunate to his country. We allude to an affair which occurred at Foxardo. In October, 1824, lieutenant Platt, in a small schooner, was cruising off the island of St. Thomas, about thirty miles eastward of Porto Rico, when a company of American merchants, residing in St. Thomas, informed him that their store had been broken open, and property to a large amount stolen from it, requesting his assistance, and offering, for its recovery, a reward of a thousand dollars. Suspicious circumstances induced a belief, that the property had been carried to Foxardo, a small town in Porto Rico. Lieutenant Platt engaged with zeal in its restoration; and, taking on board the clerk of the house, proceeded to Foxardo, and made known his character and business to the authorities of the town. But as he appeared before them in the dress of a private citizen, and on an affair in no way connected with his official duty, he became himself an object of suspicion, and was detained, with circumstances of some indignity, until he could send on board his vessel, and produce his uniform and his commission, when he was released, without having obtained any information or assistance, as to the object of his pursuit. On commodore Porter's return from the United States, whither he had gone on account of the ill health of some of his crews, the lieutenant reported to him the circumstances of this unfortunate proceeding. The commodore, viewing the treatment experienced by his lieutenant as an insult to the American flag—an inference in which we do not concur with that gallant officer—immediately proceeded with three ships to the harbour of Foxardo; landed with a party of marines; took possession of a small fort which guarded its entrance; marched to the town, and demanded an apology, such as he himself should dictate, for the insult suffered by his lieutenant; in case of refusal, threatening the destruction of the place. The Spaniards were thus intimidated, the required apology was given, and the commodore re-embarked.

This transaction was at variance with the commodore's instructions, which required him, by all the means in his power, consistent with the honour of his government, to cultivate a good understanding with the Spanish authorities in the West Indies. Lieutenant Platt's undertaking to recover the lost goods of the St. Thomas merchants, was entirely out of the line of his duty. Appearing at Foxardo in the character of a searcher for stolen goods, he forfeited his claim to any

special honours as a naval officer of the United States, however justice and common courtesy might require the inhabitants to aid him in his object. The commodore's military visit to avenge a supposed insult, could be considered in no other light than a hostile invasion of a peaceful territory; while the weakness and inability of the village to make resistance, aggravated, rather than diminished the offence.

The commodore was arrested, and tried by a court martial, on two charges; the first, for disobedience of orders, in the affair of Foxardo; the second, for insubordinate and un-officer-like conduct, in relation to the time of publishing a certain pamphlet in vindication of his conduct. He was found guilty on both charges, and sentenced to be suspended from his command for six months. The sentence was approved by the president, and carried into execution. The commodore felt himself greatly aggrieved by these proceedings. He therefore resigned his command in the American navy, and entered into a negotiation with the Mexican government, by which he became commander-in-chief of all the naval forces in Mexico, with an annual salary of twenty-five-thousand dollars; an engagement, in direct violation of the laws of the United States.

The loss of the American sloop of war *Hornet*, some years afterwards, in the gulf of Mexico, is an event which brought sorrow to the heart of many a family in the United States. At the worst period of the autumnal equinox, that vessel was compelled to remain off Tampico, to protect American property during the tumults attending the invasion of Barradas by the Spanish troops. She had taken on board a considerable sum of money, and the day before her loss a number of the inhabitants visited her on a party of pleasure. It was destined to a fearful termination. The weather became threatening, and, on the tenth of September, 1829, the *Hornet* put to sea, carrying with her all her ill-fated guests. The prognostic proved too true: the blast came, one of the most tremendous ever known in that region of violent convulsions. Sweeping down the lofty mountains, it overturned all within its course: crops, buildings, men, and animals, disappeared before its fury. The vessels anchored in the smooth river of Tampico, and sheltered by its banks, were either stranded or upset; and those lying in the harbour, without, were either driven to sea, or foundered at their anchors. It is now more than two years, since the disappearance of the *Hornet*. Not a word of intelligence has been received from her. The



mariner who has passed with an anxious eye over the scene of her departure, has been able to trace no vestige of her wreck. Of the thousand floating objects that generally cast themselves from a sinking ship, and swim on the surface of the deep, nothing—not so much as an oar or a handspike—has yet been found, to tell her fate with something more than the uncertainty of a vague and cruel apprehension:—the sea seems, in its insatiate vortex, to have swallowed all! Three hundred officers and men, together with her visitors who stepped upon her deck full of life and joy, have descended to one common grave—the bottom of the stormy deep!

Captain Norris, the commander of the *Hornet*, bore a high character in the navy, as a cool, collected officer, and skilful seaman; and, of the second in rank, lieutenant Mackey, it is doing no injustice to his brother officers, to say, that he has not left his superior behind him.

1824. The election of an individual to fill the high and honourable office of president of the United States, at this period excited more than ordinary attention. One of the first objects of the combatants was to secure the co-operation of as many of the presses as possible, for their respective candidates. Six hundred different newspapers were now in circulation in the United States, amongst a million and a half of electors. Their influence is powerful and controlling, and, as the period of voting approached, by the zealous exertions of partizan editors, the people were induced to take sides in the electioneering contest. In the electoral colleges, the votes were, for gen. Jackson, 99; being a majority of eleven states; for Mr. Adams, 84; a majority of seven states; for Mr. Crawford, 41; three states; for Mr. Clay, 37; also three states. No one of the candidates having a majority of the whole number of votes, in conformity with the provisions of the constitution, the election from the three highest candidates devolved upon the house of representatives; the votes to be given by states, each state having an equal voice, and a majority of all the states being necessary to constitute a choice. The ill health of Mr. Crawford, and his small number of votes compared with the highest two, placed him out of the question; and, for many weeks before the ultimate canvass, gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams were considered as the only real candidates. On the 9th of February, 1825, the house divided itself into state sections, and proceeded to the election of a president. On the first ballot, Mr. Adams had the votes of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode

Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Louisiana, Illinois, and Missouri; being thirteen states: general Jackson had the votes of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Indiana, Alabama, and Mississippi; seven states: Mr. Crawford, the votes of Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia; four states: and thus, Mr. Adams, though not having a majority of all the votes of the electors, or of the house of representatives taken individually, yet, having a majority of the states, was declared to be duly elected.

One of the most annoying and persevering opponents of the new administration, was the eloquent but eccentric John Randolph, of Roanoke. On the eighth day of April, 1826, a duel was fought, near Washington, between that gentleman and Mr. Clay, in consequence of a challenge from the latter, arising from certain expressions used by Mr. Randolph in a recent debate in the senate, which Mr. Clay considered offensive, and applied personally to himself. Mr. Randolph was attended by colonel Tatnall of Georgia, and major Hamilton of South Carolina; Mr. Clay, by general Jessup, of the army, and Mr. Johnson, of Louisiana; and at the second fire, the ball of Mr. Clay passed through Mr. Randolph's clothes.



## CHAPTER XV.

### FIFTH CENSUS.

*Visit of La Fayette. Settlement of Liberia. Creeks and Cherokees. National Jubilee. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Internal Improvements. Fifth Census.*

NOT inferior in interest to the presidential election, was the visit of general La Fayette to the United States, in the year 1824. His participation in the revolutionary contest, has already formed a prominent subject of this history; and his independent conduct during the revolutionary struggle in his native country, and subsequent imprisonment at Olmutz, have been noticed in our history of France.

In 1823, he made known his intention of visiting America. On being apprised of this, congress passed a resolution, expressing a grateful recollection of his services, and requesting the president to offer a public ship, for his accommodation. La Fayette, however, preferred a private vessel; and having engaged a passage in the *Cadmus*, under the command of captain Allen, he sailed from Havre, on the thirteenth day of July, and arrived in the harbour of New York, on Sunday the fifteenth of August, 1824, accompanied by his son, Mr. George Washington La Fayette, and his secretary, Mr. Levasseur.

In visiting America, almost half a century from the period of his military career, and, at the age of sixty-seven, La Fayette could hope to meet few of his former associates in arms. Most of them had found rest in the silent grave. A new generation had risen to manhood; a new army had re-crimsoned with their blood, that soil which he had assisted to set free; and a third generation were springing up, ready to fight again in the fields of their fathers' glory. He expected to pass silently and unnoticed, amongst the tombs of his patriotic comrades, and, as a stranger amongst their descendants, with the occasional satisfaction of taking an old fellow-soldier by the hand.

He was equally surprised and delighted, on his approach to the American shores. History furnishes no record of an individual receiving so universal and spontaneous a demonstration of respect. At the entrance of New York bay, he was received by governor Tompkins; and, on his landing, was conducted to the residence of that gentleman, on Staten Island. The next day, preparations were made for his reception in the city. Business was suspended, and, at an early hour the inhabitants were in motion, to witness the landing of the illustrious guest. The ringing of bells, the roar of cannon, the waving of the national flag, and the parade of the military, proclaimed it a day of universal joy. The numbers collected on this occasion, were estimated to be not less than fifty thousand. At ten o'clock in the morning, a steamboat, manned by two-hundred Americans, and decorated with the flags of the various nations whose ships were in the harbour, set off for Staten Island, accompanied by six other steam-boats, crowded with passengers, and enlivened by bands of martial music. The committee of arrangements, the officers of the United States army and navy, the general officers of the New York militia, and the com-



mittee of the Cincinnati Society, proceeded to the island, and received the general on board. At two o'clock, he landed at the battery; where he was received by a salute from the military, accompanied by the reiterated cheers of the immense concourse of citizens, assembled to bid him welcome.

La Fayette remained in New York four days, visiting the public places, and receiving the congratulations of the people. Thence, he proceeded to Boston, in a splendid carriage provided by the corporation, and attended by four aldermen of the city.

His tour, eastward, as far as Portsmouth; southward, as far as New Orleans; and westward, to St. Louis, in the state of Missouri; and back to Boston, by the way of Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Rochester, Schenectady, Utica, Troy, and Albany; a journey of more than five-thousand miles, was every where signalized by the same enthusiastic attentions and congratulations. *Welcome La Fayette! Health, Happiness, Honour, and Long Life to the Nation's Guest, resounded from every quarter of the union.*

At Washington, on the tenth of December, La Fayette was introduced, by a committee, consisting of one member from each state, into the hall of the house of representatives; where the speaker, in the name of the whole people of the United States, bade him a cordial welcome. The general replied, in language expressive of a deep sense of gratitude, for the distinguished honour. Congress, however, could not satisfy themselves, or do justice to the public feeling, without giving their illustrious guest a more substantial token of the nation's gratitude. From the sacrifices made by him to the American cause, and the confiscations of his property by the revolutionists in his own country, La Fayette had become poor. A numerous family depended on him for support; and he had not the means of maintaining them in the style which their rank in society required. In his message, at the opening of the session, Mr. Monroe noticed, in appropriate and affectionate terms, the arrival of La Fayette; and recommended to congress, that, "Considering his very important services, his losses and sacrifices, such provision should be made, and tendered to him, as would correspond with the sentiments, and be worthy the character of the American people."

A committee of the senate, to whom the subject was referred, reported two resolutions; one granting him two-hundred-thousand dollars in money; the other, a township of six

miles square, of any of the unappropriated lands, which the president should direct. These resolutions, after encountering some opposition, on the ground that there were meritorious officers, citizens of the United States, now living in poverty and dependence, whose services were unrewarded, passed both houses, by large majorities, and were presented to the general by a joint committee, accompanied by a complimentary address.

After making a second visit to Boston, in order to witness the laying of the corner-stone of a monument at Bunker's Hill, erected in commemoration of the battle fought there, on the seventeenth of June, 1775, just half a century before, General La Fayette returned to Washington, preparatory to leaving the United States; and became a guest of Mr. Adams, at the presidential mansion. On Thursday, the seventh of September, 1825, he took an affectionate leave of the president, and numerous citizens assembled on the occasion; on the same day, he was conveyed from the city in the steam-boat Mount Vernon, and went on board the newly built frigate Brandywine, which had been named in honour of the battle-ground where he had shed his first blood for American independence, and prepared for his accommodation. The vessel sailed on the following day; and on the eighth of October, after a short but boisterous passage, arrived at the port of Havre, in France.

In a previous chapter, we stated, that in 1820 a society for colonizing free people of colour began a settlement at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa. In December, 1821, an agent on behalf of the society, and lieutenant Stockton, sailed, in the schooner Alligator, for Cape Montserado; and with much difficulty succeeded in purchasing from the natives, for merchandize of the value of six-hundred dollars, a tract of land, forty miles square, at the mouth of the Montserado river, in six degrees north latitude, two-hundred-and-fifty miles south of Sierra Leone. The tract has a good harbour, is high, fertile, and the healthiest in that region. The colonists were immediately transferred to the new establishment; and, in the ensuing August, the settlement was reinforced by the arrival of a vessel from Baltimore, with thirty-five emigrants and fifteen recaptured Africans.

The territory was afterwards named Liberia, and the settlement at Montserado called Monrovia, in honour of the president of the United States, under whose auspices it had been conducted,

Another mode of disposing of the free coloured population, was tried, but with little success. The president of Hayti, desirous of increasing the number of his subjects, invited them to his dominions, offering them the privileges of free citizens, and as much land as they would settle upon and cultivate, and to bear the expenses of their transportation, and also of their support, until they could provide for themselves. In 1824, president Boyer sent Mr. Grenville to New York, with these propositions, offering to make provision for the immediate transportation of six thousand. The members and friends of the colonization society, in the northern states, favoured the object; viewing it as auxiliary to the main design of furnishing a proper retreat for the coloured population of the United States. But the plan was universally opposed in the south. The existence, in their vicinity, of a nation of free negroes, was viewed with jealousy and distrust. A considerable number accepted the propositions of Mr. Grenville, embarked for Hayti, but not to the extent of the provision. Finding, however, that subsistence was not to be obtained there without laborious exertion, the emigrants became discontented; many of them returned to the United States, and the project failed.

To a proposition for the formation of a distinct colony of emigrants in his dominions, to be governed by their own laws, and connected with him only by alliance, the president of Hayti gave a decided negative; stating that every resident on the island must be subject to the general laws of the country.

In the winter of 1825, a numerous deputation from the Creek nation of Indians, convened at Washington, and, after a tedious negotiation, were with difficulty induced to sign a treaty, in February, 1826; by which they ceded more than four millions of acres of their lands in Georgia, retaining rather less than one million, and the remainder was afterwards purchased by the United States, for the benefit of Georgia; and thus terminated a warm and protracted controversy between Georgia and the Creek nation.

But there is yet another nation, whose appeals to the protection of the laws of the United States, against the alleged usurpations of the state of Georgia, excite a more than ordinary feeling of sympathy in the breasts of disinterested Americans. We allude to the Cherokees, a people who number about fifteen thousand, and who possess a territory



of ten millions of acres, on the borders of Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, and lying partly in each of these states.

In November, 1821, there arrived at Washington, accompanied by major O'Fallon, Indian agent on the Missouri, a deputation from the Pawnee, Omakar, Kansas, Otoe, and Missouri tribes. Their object was to visit their great father, the president, and learn something of that civilization of which they had hitherto remained in total ignorance. They were from the most remote tribes with which we have intercourse; and were believed to be the first of those nations that ever had been in the midst of our settlements. The Pawnees are said to be the most warlike tribe, of which we have any knowledge; not so numerous as some others, but more formidable, because united.

In the winter of 1828, an interesting deputation of the Winnebago nation, were introduced to the president of the United States. After partaking of some refreshments, an old chief stepped forth into the centre of the room, having in his hand a long uncouth pipe, which, after a brief ceremonial, he brought near to the president, and waved over his head. It was the calumet of peace. Holding it then before him, and pointing to it, he began an harangue, in slow, guttural tones, accompanied with much earnest gesture. He spoke in short paragraphs, while an Indian of the half-blood reported them in French, and a second interpreter conveyed the English.

"Father," said he, "I am glad to see you. I hold out this pipe, and I take your hand in friendship.—Father: A cloud has been between us. It was thick and black. I thought once it would never be removed. But I now see your face. It looks upon me pleasantly.—Father: A long way stretched between us. There were those who told me it was blocked up. They said the red men could not pass it. I attempted it. It is like the plain path which conducts to the Great Spirit.—Father: When I came in sight of your home, it looked white and beautiful. My heart rejoiced. I thought now I should talk with you.—Father: The Great Spirit gave to his children, the Winnebagoes, a pleasant plant. It is good to smoke. I have it here"—touching with his finger the bowl of the pipe—"I give it to you in peace.—Father: I am as old as you. My heart is true. They told me your heart was black. It is not so. We salute in friendship.—Father: I say no more. My talk is little. I am a chief

among my people. But one is here, who will speak to you soon, and tell you better our thoughts."

The address being ended, a young Winnebago advanced, in obedience to a signal from the old warrior, and lighted the pipe with fire struck from a flint. The pipe was then presented to the president, the chief still holding its stem. He inhaled a few puffs, and, as the smoke curled gently upward, the savage group gazed with intentness, and uttered a low murmur of satisfaction. The chief then handed the calumet to all the spectators, in order, and lastly to each of his tribe. It was next transferred, in form, to the president, to be retained; and he, requesting the Indian to lay one hand upon it again, while he pledged him with the other, proceeded to dictate to the interpreter his reply:

"Say to this chief, I rejoice to see him. He and his brethren are welcome to me and my children. Tell him, it has grieved me that a cloud has been between us; but I am pleased equally with him, that it has been dissipated. It is dispersed like the fumes of the pipe we have smoked.—May it never close down upon us more!

"Say—I am glad that he and his companions meet me on this propitious day. Bid him look to the face of the heavens. No cloud is there. The sun shines brightly upon us. The Great Spirit looks down, and smiles upon our meeting.

"Say—I hope the same sun will light his path in peace to the abodes of his fathers. When he is gone, I will look upon this pipe with pleasure; and should I hear, ever after, that in place of pacific, any hostile dispositions break forth amongst his nation, towards my brethren, and children, I will say it is impossible: for I have the word of a Winnebago, which must be true, that his people pledge their amity with mine, and have left this pipe in token of sincerity.

"Say—I yesterday beheld with satisfaction the sports of himself and his associates, as they practised their ancient war-dance on the green beneath my windows. But a higher pleasure I now experience—and one, the memory of which will endure—in cordially greeting him within these walls, and reciprocating assurances of plighted concord."

Each of these periods, as soon as interpreted, drew forth a hoarse plaudit from the savage auditors. Once, it swelled to a deafening howl, in acknowledgment of the compliment paid to the inviolable integrity of their word.

It is a beautiful expression of moral sentiment, that the Indians were little moved by the compliment paid to their

dancing, but howled their satisfaction at the profession of a belief in their integrity.

The fourth of July, 1826, having completed fifty years since the declaration of independence, the day was celebrated as a national jubilee. The retrospect was truly cheering and delightful. The annals of the world exhibit no previous example of so rapid a progress, in agriculture and commerce, the arts, manufactures, and population. From weakness, the states had advanced to strength; from infancy, to manhood; from thirteen, they had increased in number to twenty-four; from a population of three millions, thinly scattered along the border of the Atlantic, they had increased to ten millions, spread beyond the banks of the Mississippi, to the base of the Rocky Mountains; and, as if to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the nation's birth, by events of signal and unprecedented coincidence, Adams and Jefferson, two of the signers of the declaration of independence, of the three who were yet permitted to witness their country's happiness and glory, beheld the sun of that joyous day arise, and beheld it for the last time. Mr. Jefferson died at his seat at Monticello, Virginia, at one o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth of July, in his eighty-fourth year; Mr. Adams, at Quincy, Massachusetts, in his ninety-first. They were the only surviving members of the committee appointed to draft the declaration: Mr. Jefferson was himself the composer of that celebrated instrument; they had both been presidents of the United States; they were the most distinguished leaders of their respective political parties; Mr. Jefferson had expressed a strong desire to see the jubilee of American independence; Mr. Adams expressed his patriotic feelings in a sentiment, to be used that day at the festive board.

The nation mourned their loss. By an order of the president, appropriate funeral honours were rendered at all the military and naval stations, and the officers directed to wear badges of mourning for six months; and in the principal cities and towns, days were set apart for the same purpose, and funeral processions and eulogiums manifested a universal sentiment of national sorrow.



## CHAPTER XVI.

## INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

*Canals and Rail-roads. Tariff.*

THE want of sufficient skill and perseverance, not less than of adequate pecuniary means, had long rendered abortive every attempt to facilitate the intercourse between the distant parts of the United States, by artificial navigation. To New York, is due, the enviable honour of having accomplished the first American canal of any considerable extent. The project of uniting the waters of the lakes on its north-western border, with the Atlantic, had early employed the attention of public-spirited and scientific men, in that enterprising state. In 1810, the legislature appointed a board of commissioners, to investigate the subject. They reported, that the object was of immense utility, but that, in their opinion, the expense was too great for individuals or private corporations, and that it ought to be undertaken by the national government, or individual states. The legislature accordingly directed application to be made for assistance to congress, and to several of the state legislatures supposed to be the most deeply interested in the project: these applications, however, were unsuccessful, and all further proceedings were suspended by the war of 1812.

Soon after the peace, in 1815, the state of New York, with great energy resumed her favourite design, relying altogether on her own resources; and connecting, at the same time, with this greater object, the plan of a canal from the Hudson to lake Champlain. The same commissioners were appointed for both purposes; and, after a serious opposition, overcome chiefly by the resolution and perseverance of De Witt Clinton, the legislature determined to commence the work. Operations began on the fourth of July, 1817; and the first boat from lake Erie arrived at New York on the twenty-sixth of October, 1825. The whole length of the Erie Canal is three-hundred-and-fifty-three miles. The formation of the Champlain canal, extending near the margin of the Hudson river, and lake George, in length sixty-one miles, proceeded at the same time; and the expenses of both, constituting the canal debt, amounted to nine-millions-six-hundred-and-twenty-nine-thousand dollars.

The utility of these canals, and the transportation effected by them, surpassed the most sanguine expectations. The annual receipt of tolls, now exceeds one-million of dollars. The canal fund will speedily extinguish the debt, and the tolls will be applicable to any purposes that the legislature may direct.

Three communications between the Atlantic and the valley of the Mississippi, have since been undertaken: one, a canal and rail-road, by the state of Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg;\* the second, a rail-road from Baltimore to the Ohio river;† the third, a canal from the Potomac, at Georgetown, to the Ohio.‡ Besides these, there have also been completed what is called a slack-water navigation, on the river Schuylkill, from Philadelphia to Pottsville; the Union Canal, connecting the Susquehanna at Middleton, with the Schuylkill at Reading; and a canal without locks, by which vessels can pass from the Delaware to the Chesapeake Bay.§

Another great enterprise, to which the Erie and Hudson Canal gave birth, and which is intimately connected with it, is a canal leading from Cleaveland, on lake Erie, to the mouth of the Sciota, on the Ohio river. The ceremony of removing the first shovel-full of earth, was performed by governor Clinton, invited from New York, for that purpose, on the fourth of July, 1825; and the first boats reached Cincinnati, by this navigation, on the seventeenth of March, 1828. The work was undertaken solely by the state of Ohio, and, when completed, will open an inland navigation from the city of New York to New Orleans, a distance of nearly three-thousand miles.

Two-hundred large boats, driven by steam, are now plying on the western waters, and their number is rapidly increasing.

Within the last ten years, Pennsylvania has enriched herself, to a degree unparalleled, by her coal mines of boundless extent, particularly in the counties of Schuylkill and Luzerne; the very existence of which, before that period, was

\* Commenced in the summer of 1826: the estimated expense, about thirteen millions.

† The corner-stone laid the fourth of July, 1828, by the venerable Charles Carroll.

‡ The first spade put into the ground on the same day, by John Quincy Adams.

§ Commenced, the fifth of April, 1824; completed, the fourth of July, 1829.

but little known. North Carolina and Georgia, also, boast of the discovery of rich mines of gold ; an event, from which they may receive some pecuniary benefit ; but the iron and coal mines of Pennsylvania, instead of demoralizing her population, will increase their industry and habits of good order, and confer upon her citizens more substantial wealth, than the diamonds of Golconda, or the gold and silver of Peru.

On the second of April, 1827, was laid the corner-stone of the Naval Asylum of the United States. This institution, situated on the left bank of the river Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, and designed as a place of refuge for disabled officers, seamen, and marines, as regards extent, solidity, and beauty of architectural design, would do honour to any country in the world. The expense of the building was defrayed out of a fund raised by the monthly contributions of those employed in the naval service, which commenced in the year 1793.



## CHAPTER XXIV.

### GREAT PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

*Election of General Jackson. View of his administration.*

1828. THE approaching presidential election, in 1829, was the universal theme of political discussion in the preceding year. At no period since the organization of the federal constitution, had the people been so strongly excited in their respective hostility to one candidate, and their predilection for another. The bond, which for more than half a century, had been strong enough to keep together the several parts of the great American Union, seemed now too weak to prevent its being torn asunder by the fury of electioneering warfare.

A minute detail of the events of this election, we willingly exclude from this epitome. The contest ended in the choice of electors in November, 1828 ; and the result was, a triumphant majority in the electoral colleges for general Jackson ; one-hundred-and-seventy-eight votes for him, and eighty-three for Mr. Adams. The latter had the votes of



New Jersey and Delaware ; all the New England votes, except one from Maine ; sixteen from New York, and five from Maryland. All the other votes were for general Jackson.

The close of a presidential term, especially when attended with a change of administration, is a proper period to review the past, and record the present condition of the country, in order to afford the means of comparing it with what it may be at the end of the succeeding term.

The treasury report gave a detailed view of the finances under Mr. Adams's administration, compared with that of the preceding four years ; the material results of which, were, that the absolute increase of revenue exceeded eighteen-millions : that the tariff of 1824, by which the duties on foreign manufactured articles, for the encouragement of domestic industry, were greatly enlarged, had considerably increased the receipts at the treasury : that the annual consumption of foreign merchandize, had, on an average, been eighteen per cent. more, than in the preceding four years : that all the accruing interest, and more than thirty millions of the principal of the national debt, had been paid ; leaving its amount, on the first of January, 1830, about fifty-one-millions, exclusive of seven-millions due to the bank of the United States, against which the government owned an equal amount of stock ; and that fourteen-millions had been applied to permanent internal improvements, and to objects of defence.

The third of March, 1829, terminated the labours of the twentieth congress, and the administration of 1825.

1830. The subject of the Cherokee Indians, was one of the most interesting questions that engaged the attention of the succeeding congress. As their last hope, the Indians sent a second delegation to the congress of 1829—30, to solicit their protection. Their application was enforced by numerous memorials from citizens of the United States, who thought they saw in the proceedings of the general government, in relation to that unhappy people, the most flagrant injustice and violation of the public faith. Their claims were referred, as a matter of course, in both houses, to their respective committees on public affairs. Here, again, the unfortunate Indian found himself in the hands of his enemies. A majority of both committees were from states interested in obtaining the Indian lands, by whom the views of the administration, in relation to them, were sanctioned. Their reports adopted the new system ; abrogated the rights of the Indians to their possessions, and to self-government,

and sustained the state authorities in extending over them their jurisdiction.

The **FIFTH CENSUS**, taken in the year 1830, shows the white and coloured population of the United States and territories, to be as follows:—

Maine,	399,462	S. Carolina	581,458
N. Hampshire,	269,533	Georgia,	516,567
Massachusetts,	610,014	Kentucky,	688,844
Rhode Island,	97,210	Tennessee,	684,822
Connecticut,	297,711	Ohio,	937,679
Vermont,	280,679	Indiana,	341,582
New York,	1,913,508	Mississippi,	136,806
New Jersey,	320,779	Illinois,	157,575
Pennsylvania,	1,347,672	Louisiana,	215,791
Delaware,	76,739	Missouri,	140,084
Maryland,	446,913	Alabama,	309,206
D. Columbia,	39,858	Michigan,	31,128
Virginia,	1,211,266	Arkansas,	30,383
N. Carolina,	738,470	Florida,	34,725
Total,		12,856,464.	

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